THE LIFE OF HANNIBAL.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

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ROME and *Carthage* being both built, and arriving by arms, much about the ſame time, to a high pitch of reputation and glory, ſeem to have been deſigned by nature for rivals and competitors for the empire of the world. *Carthage* having ſubdued *Africa*, the greateſt part of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and ſeveral other iſlands, was puff'd up with her victories; and *Rome* was not leſs proud of the conqueſt of *Italy*, which ſhe had entirely reduced as far as the ſtreights of *Sicily*. They were both upon the watch for opportunities of extending their dominions. The riches of *Sicily* attracted the

eyes of the *Romans*: It lay juſt before them, and ſeem'd to have been formerly rent off from their continent by the violence of the waves, and they longed to join it, as it were, to their territories again. They had no fair pretenſions to it, but boundleſs ambition ſeldom hunts long for plauſible ones. *Meſſina*, their ally, complaining of the oppreſſions and tyranny of the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* embraced this opportunity of paſſing over into *Sicily*, under colour of ſuccouring their allies, but in reality to take poſſeſſion of an iſland which opened a door to all their ambitious deſigns. This was the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, which laſted twenty four years without any intermiſſion, and was fruitful of extraordinary and wonderful events. The *Romans* obtained great victories, and received as great defeats. *Polybius* tells us, That in this war they loſt 700 ſhips, either by engagements, or ſtorms. The eaſe with which they repaired theſe loſſes deſerves to be remember'd. In the conſulſhip of *Duellius* they built a fleet of 160 ſhips, which was ready to ſail in 60 days; computing from the day the trees were fell'd. Three years after, in the conſulſhip of *Attilius Regulus*, they built another of 200 in three months. *Homer* therefore does not exceed the bounds of probability, when he ſays, That *Ulyſſes* cut down twenty trees, lopp'd off the branches, ſquar'd and made them fit for his purpoſe, built his veſſel, fitted it up with a maſt, yards and rudder; and all in four days. The *Carthaginians* reduced at laſt to extremity by the loſs of a great ſea-fight againſt the conſul *Lutatius*, were

were obliged to ſue for peace, and to accept of it on ſuch conditions as the *Romans* were pleaſed to impoſe upon them.

Of all the *Carthaginian* generals that ſerved in this war, *Hamilcar Barca*, the father of *Hannibal*, gave the *Romans* the moſt trouble. He was a man of conſummate prudence, and of ſo heroic a valour, that he was called another *Mars*. *Polybius* gives him this great encomium; That the *Roman* ſoldiers were more valiant than the *Carthaginian* ſoldiers, but that *Hamilcar* was ſuperior to all the captains of his time both in valour and prudence. He gave new proofs of both in the war he was engaged in againſt the *Africans*, whom the foreign troops had ſtirr'd up to an inſurrection. He obtain'd many ſignal victories, and put a glorious end to the war.

He went over afterwards with an army into *Spain*, to eſtabliſh the power of the *Carthaginians* there; but had, at the ſame time, farther deſigns in view. He intended to draw ſupplies and forces from thence to renew the war againſt the *Romans*; for the diſadvantagious ſhameful peace which his citizens had been mean ſpirited enough to ſubmit to, was ever uppermoſt in his thoughts.

He ſacrificed before he ſet ſail; and when the ſolemnity was over, and all the company according to his order retired, he took his ſon *Hannibal*, then but nine years old, by the hand, and aſk'd him, If he was willing to go along with him. The boy, raviſh'd with the propoſal, replied, *I am not only willing, but entreat you by all the gods to let me go.*

Upon which *Hamilcar* led him to the altar, made him ſwear that he would, all his life long, be an implacable enemy to the *Romans*; and then taking him along with him, embark'd for *Spain*. This is the account *Polybius* gives us of this affair. *Livy* ſeems to have copied falſe memoirs, when he ſays, That *Hannibal* did not go thither till thirteen years after, at the age of two and twenty. *Polybius* is a writer of better credit, and his authority in this the rather to be taken, becauſe it is confirm'd by *Hannibal* himſelf; who ſaid, a long time after, that he left *Carthage* at nine years of age, before he was capable of being inſtructed in the laws and cuſtoms of his country. *Hamilcar* made war in *Spain* for almoſt nine years, obliged many people to ſubmit to the *Carthaginians*, and died gloriouſly in battle againſt king *Oriſſo*.

After his death the *Carthaginians* gave the command of the army to *Aſdrubal*, his ſon in law, who commanded the fleet. He govern'd nine years with much wiſdom and prudence; and did many great things, leſs by force than by inſinuation and the friendſhips he contracted. He did particularly a very extraordinary piece of ſervice to his country in building new *Carthage*, which conſiderably encreaſed the power of the *Carthaginians*, and ſerved them as a bulwark to defend both *Spain* and *Africa*.

The progreſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* excited the envy of the *Romans*, but the war with which they were threaten'd by the *Gauls*, hinder'd them from oppoſing it, or from declaring againſt them.

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They contented themſelves with ſending ambaſſadors to *Aſdrubal*, to conclude a new treaty with him, which might ſerve to explain that already made with *Lutatius*. The *Carthaginians*, by this treaty, were to leave the *Saguntines* in poſſeſſion of their liberties, and not to paſs the *Ebro*.

This is the period in which *Livy* places *Hannibal*'s voyage to *Spain*. According to him, *Aſdrubal*, who knew nothing of the oath which *Hamilcar* had required of his ſon, and was deſirous of inſtilling into him the ſame hatred which he and his father had always entertain'd againſt the *Romans*, wrote to *Carthage*, to deſire that *Hannibal*, hardly yet two and twenty, might be ſent over to him, in order to learn the art of war, and be qualified for ſucceeding him.

As ſoon as theſe letters arrived at *Carthage* they were laid before the ſenate. *Hanno* oppoſed this requeſt with all his might, and alledged reaſons of ſtate and equity againſt it. *The company of* Aſdrubal, ſays he, *would be as dangerous to this young prince as that of* Hamilcar *was to* Aſdrubal, *whom he corrupted. We ſhou'd by no means ſuffer our young men, under the pretence of learning the art of war, to go and learn the brutiſh manners of our generals. Can we apprehend, that it will be too long ere* Hannibal *will become ſenſible of the enormous power and ſort of royalty which* Hamilcar *left behind him; and that we ſhall not ſoon enough become ſubject to the ſon of him, who left his ſon in law our armies as a paternal inheritance? As for me, I think, we ought to keep* Hannibal *here, to teach him*

to live upon a level with his fellow citizens, and to obey our laws and magiſtrates, leſt this ſpark ſhou'd one day kindle a combuſtion amongſt us.

The beſt and wiſeſt part of the ſenators were of *Hanno*'s opinion; but the majority being againſt it, *Hannibal* was ſent into *Spain*. As ſoon as he arrived there he drew the eyes of the whole army upon him. All the old ſoldiers fancied they ſaw *Hamilcar* himſelf reſtored to them: They obſerv'd the ſame fire in his eyes, and the ſame features in his face. He did not long owe their fondneſs for him to their eſteem for his father. As no man was ever better fitted for two ſuch different things, as obedience and command, it was impoſſible to ſay, whether he was more beloved by his general or the army. Whenever any affair of importance was to be undertaken, *Aſdrubal* entruſted it to him; and there were no officers under whom the ſoldiers were more confident and daring. His prudence, and coolneſs of temper, were, in the greateſt dangers, equal to his intrepidity and courage; and no toils were ſuperior to his ſtrength and reſolution. He was equally capable of enduring cold and heat, and never eat or drank to pleaſe his palate, but merely to ſatisfy the calls of nature. He had no ſtated times, either by night or by day, for reſt and labour, and only repoſed himſelf when the affairs he had in hand permitted him to do it; and then he was not at all ſolicitous for a ſoft bed or ſilence, but often ſlept on the ground, under no covering but his arms, amidſt the guards, and the noiſe of the camp. His dreſs was as plain as that of the meaneſt

meaneſt of his companions, and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by nothing but the magnificence and beauty of his arms and his horſes. He always went firſt to the battle, and was the laſt that retreated from it. His great virtues were accompanied by as great vices. He was cruel, and infamous for a more than *Punic* perfidy; had no uprightneſs nor honour in his proceedings, no fear of the gods, no conſcience, no religion. With this mixture of virtues and vices he ſerved three years under *Aſdrubal*. During which time he gave ſo many proofs of capacity and courage, that upon the death of *Aſdrubal*, who was killed one night in his own houſe by a *Gaul* he had injured, the government of *Spain* was given to him, though he was not then five and twenty years old.

The moment he found himſelf at the head of the army, he made it appear that he would be a more religious obſerver of the oath he had made his father, than of the treaties made by *Lutatius* and *Aſdrubal*. He paſſed the *Ebro*, march'd into the province of the *Olcades*, a people of *Hiſpania Terraconenſis*, laid ſiege to the rich city of *Althæa*, their capital, took it by aſſault, and plunder'd it. The neighbouring cities being alarmed, and ſubmitting on terms, *Hannibal* led back his troops loaded with booty, and winter'd in new *Carthage*. Here he divided the ſpoils amongſt the ſoldiers, and pay'd them all their Arrears.

Having by this means confirm'd the fidelity of his own troops, and thoſe of his allies, early in the ſpring he threw himſelf into the province of the *Vac-*

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cæi, became immediately maſter of the city *Hermandica*, and went and beſieged *Arbacala*. This town was well fortified, and making a ſtout reſiſtance, gave him a good deal of trouble; but it was taken at laſt by ſtorm. The *Carpetani*, the moſt warlike people of the country, being join'd by the *Olcades*, and the fugitives of *Hermandica*, fell upon him in his return. As their army conſiſted of above a hundred thouſand men it would have been dangerous for *Hannibal* to have given them Battle; he therefore, as his prudence was equal to his valour, retreated in good order, and taking advantage of a dark night, paſs'd the *Tagus*, to cover himſelf from his enemies; and removed to ſome diſtance from it, to encourage them to paſs it. The enemy ſuppoſing he removed to ſuch a diſtance through fear, and thinking the *Tagus* the only obſtacle in their way to victory, did not wait for orders, but plunged in crowds into the river. *Hannibal* returns upon them, kills all thoſe who had paſſed over, and diſpatches his cavalry againſt thoſe in the water; ſome of whom were carried away by the rapidity of the ſtream, others fell by the ſword, and others regain'd their ſhore. He purſues them, repaſſes the river, compleats their defeat, and in a few days the *Carpetani* came and ſubmitted on terms.

After this great ſucceſs there was nothing beyond the *Ebro* but *Saguntum*, that was able to oppoſe his arms. But before he attack'd that city, and gave the *Romans* juſt grounds for declaring war againſt him, he was deſirous to complete the conqueſt of all the

neighbouring provinces. At his return to new *Carthage* he found ambaſſadors from *Rome*, who required him not to undertake any thing againſt *Saguntum*, their ally, and to forbear paſſing the *Ebro*, according to one of the articles of the treaty made with *Aſdrubal*. *Hannibal* returned them a haughty anſwer, and ſaid, That they had been ſo far from regarding *Saguntum* as their ally, that they had treated her as their enemy; ſince upon their being called to appeaſe a ſedition there, they had unjuſtly put a great number of her citizens to death; that he would not let ſuch perfidy go unpuniſh'd, but would follow the maxims of his anceſtors, who ſuffer'd none, eſpecially their neighbours, to be injured.

The ambaſſadors carry'd their complaints to *Carthage*. *Hannibal*, in the mean time, departs from new *Carthage* at the head of a formidable army, and approaches *Saguntum*, the richeſt and ſtrongeſt city in all the country, ſituated a mile from the ſea, at the foot of the mountains that divide *Spain* from *Celtiberia*. The *Carthaginian* immediately inveſted it; and during the ſiege, which was tedious and difficult, expoſed himſelf to great dangers. In one aſſault, as he advanced, too unwarily, at the head of the aſſailants, he was wounded in the thigh with a dart. This damped the heat of the attacks for ſome time, but they were ſoon renewed with greater vigour than before.

During theſe tranſactions, he was told, that other ambaſſadors were coming from *Rome* to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege. *Hannibal* ſent meſſengers to the

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ſea coaſt to meet and tell them, as ſoon as they landed; That it was not ſafe for them to paſs through ſo many ſavage nations who were all up in arms; and that, as for him, he had too much buſineſs on his hands to be at leiſure to hear them. As he ſuſpected that the ambaſſadors wou'd go to *Carthage*, he wrote to thoſe of his party, to prejudice and prepare them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the *Romans* from obtaining their demands.

The ambaſſador being introduced into the ſenate, complain'd of the breach of treaties, and demanded that *Hannibal*, with all the officers that had follow'd his opinion, ſhould be deliver'd up to them. *Hanno*, who was of the party that oppoſed *Hannibal*, ſpoke with great force to ſupport the cauſe of the *Romans*. He ſaid, That *Hannibal* ſought to continue the war for no other reaſon but to open himſelf a way to monarchy; That he had rejected the embaſſy of their allies in behalf of the *Saguntines*, though the rejection of an embaſſy, even from enemies, was a thing unheard of before; That if they did not take care the ruins of *Saguntum* would fall upon *Carthage*, and the *Roman* legions come, and beſiege their city under the conduct of the ſame gods, who in the laſt war, had ſo ſeverely and evidently puniſhed the violation of treaties. *Let us then*, adds he, *deliver up* Hannibal *to the* Romans, *who demand him. And though no ſuch demand were made, I ſhould, for my part, be for baniſhing this prodigy of ambition to the fartheſt corners of the earth; for if he eſcapes unpuniſhed, he will prove the ruin of us all. Let us there-*

therefore ſend one embaſſy to Rome *to make ſatisfaction to the ſenate, another to* Hannibal, *to order him to raiſe the ſiege of* Saguntum, *and a third to cauſe every thing that has been taken from the* Saguntines, *to be reſtored to them again.*

This ſpeech weigh'd very little with the ſenate, who being prejudiced in favour of their Hero, ſent back the ambaſſadors with this anſwer; *That the* Saguntines, *and not* Hannibal, *were the cauſe of the war; and that the* Romans *would be guilty of great injuſtice, if they preferr'd them to their ancient alliance with the* Carthaginians.

Hannibal all this time puſhes on the ſiege with greater ardor than ever, and offers terms to the *Saguntines*; who finding them too hard, and being reduced to the laſt extremity, kindle a great fire in the market place, and throw their ſilver, and gold, and every thing that was moſt valuable into it; and then moſt of them ruſh headlong into the flames. *Hannibal* taking advantage of the tumult and diſorder that this frenzy occaſioned in the city, takes it by aſſault after an eight months ſiege, puts all capable of bearing arms to the ſword, and returning with his army to new *Carthage*, winters there.

The ambaſſadors return to *Rome*, and declare the ruin of *Saguntum*, and the war which was at hand. The *Romans*, much aſtoniſhed at the news, and more aſhamed of having ſuffer'd *Saguntum* to periſh, and of not ſuccouring their allies, prepare for their defenſe; but before a declaration of war, ſend four ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, at the head of whom was

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Quintus Fabius. Their inſtructions were to demand of the *Carthaginians*, Whether *Hannibal* had deſtroy'd *Saguntum* of his own accord, or by an order from his ſuperiors? *Fabius* is introduced to an audience, and declares his commiſſion. The *Carthaginians* anſwer; That the ſole point in queſtion is, Whether *Saguntum* has been deſtroy'd juſtly, or contrary to treaties; and not by what counſels and orders it was done; that in the treaty made with *Lutatius*, in which there was no mention of allies on either ſide, there was not one word about the *Saguntines*, who were not then the allies of *Rome*; that, indeed, in the treaty made with *Aſdrubal* the *Saguntines* were expreſly excepted, and that they ſhould give no other anſwer to that than what they had learn'd of the *Romans* themſelves. For as the *Romans* did not think themſelves bound by the treaty of *Lutatius*, becauſe it had not been confirmed and authorized by the ſenate and people; they, in like manner, did not think themſelves bound by that of *Aſdrubal*, becauſe it had been made without their authority; that they muſt not therefore talk of the *Ebro* or *Saguntum*, but declare frankly what they aimed at.

Upon this, *Fabius* folding up the lappet of his gown, ſaid; *I bring you peace or war, take your choice.* The *Carthaginians*, with the ſame haughtineſs, replied; *Give us that which you your ſelves have choſen.* *Fabius* immediately letting his gown fall, as though he had poured out war, ſaid; *I give you war then. We receive it*, cried the *Carthaginians, and will carry it on with the ſame courage*

that

that we accept it. This declaration of war ſeem'd more worthy the majeſty of *Rome* than trifling diſputes about the terms of treaties; though juſtice, even according to them, appear'd to be altogether on the ſide of the *Romans.* For in the treaty of *Lutatius* it was expreſly ſaid; *That it ſhould not be valid unleſs it was ratified by the People*; whereas in that of *Aſdrubal* there was no mention made of any ſuch clauſe, and it ſeem'd to have been ſufficiently confirm'd by the ſilence of the *Carthiginians* for many years during *Aſdrubal*'s life, and by their never having hinted at any alterations after his death. Nay, if we conſult only the treaty made with *Lutatius*, the *Saguntines*, tho' not mention'd, ſeem'd to be included in it; ſince in that treaty the allies of both nations were excepted without diſtinguiſhing thoſe who then were, from thoſe who ſhould afterwards become allies. And as it has always been allowable to make new alliances with people who have done us any ſignal ſervices, what juſtice would there be in abandoning them afterwards? Beſides, the intention of theſe treaties was, that the allies might not be ſollicited to change ſides, nor even received, though they themſelves ſhould deſire to change.

Theſe ambaſſadors having had ſuch ill ſucceſs at *Carthage*, went, according to their inſtructions, into *Spain*, to endeavour to win over the *Spaniſh* towns to them, or to alienate them from the *Carthaginians.* They eaſily prevailed with the *Barguſians*, who were already weary of the *Punic* government; but they were ill receiv'd by the *Volcians*, who bid them

them go, and ſeek alliances where the fame of the ruin of *Saguntum* had never been heard of; for *all the* Spaniards, ſaid they, *have learn'd by this dreadful, but too evident inſtance, that no confidence is to be placed in the faith and alliance of the* Romans. From thence the ambaſſadors went to the *Gauls* to require them not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſs through their country. The *Gauls* receiv'd them with a ſmile, mix'd with indignation and reſentment; for they thought it fooliſh and inſolent in the *Romans* to demand that they ſhould receive the war into their own country, to hinder its being carried into *Italy*; and expoſe their own dominions to be plunder'd, to ſave thoſe of the *Romans*.

All *Hannibal*'s great ſucceſſes in *Spain* did not ſatisfy his ambition, and much leſs the implacable hatred he had ſworn againſt the *Romans*. Whilſt he was in winter quarters at new *Carthage*, he made preparations for carrying the war into *Italy*, and for attacking *Rome* in *Rome* it ſelf. He aſſembles all the *Spaniards* he had in his army, gives them leave to go home and paſs the winter in their own houſes, upon their promiſing to return to him in the ſpring, and goes to *Gades* to acquit himſelf of ſome vows he had made to *Hercules*. At his return, before he undertook ſo long and difficult an expedition, he very prudently provided for the ſafety both of *Africa* and *Spain*, by ordering *African* ſoldiers into *Spain*, and by ſending *Spaniſh* ſoldiers into *Africa*. Leaving his brother *Aſdrubal* to command in *Spain*, with 57 gallies to guard the coaſts, he began his march with all the

the troops that were returned according to their promiſe.

Of all the enterprizes of great generals, there are none more wonderful, or more worthy of remembrance, than their great marches to carry war into very remote countries. For all the obſtacles that are to be ſurmounted in all other the moſt dangerous actions of war, commonly meet together in this, and there are an infinite number of others not to be met with elſewhere. Not only the oppoſition of men is to be overcome, but that of places, and the elements themſelves.

That of *Hannibal* into *Italy* is one of the moſt ſurprizing. It appeared ſo amazing to the hiſtorians who undertook to deſcribe it before *Polybius*, that they had recourſe to miracles to make it credible, according to the cuſtom of antient authors; who, to entertain their readers the more, mix'd fable and hiſtory together. *Polybius* has juſtly cenſured the folly of theſe writers, and has ſhown, that hiſtory does, by no means, admit of fiction, which is allowable only in poetry. Notwithſtanding this grave rebuke, *Livy* has not ſcrupled to relate one of theſe miracles. He tells us it was reported, that *Hannibal* being arrived at the city of *Etoviſſa*, and juſt about to paſs the *Ebro*, *dreamt that he ſaw a young man of a celeſtial form, who told him, that he was ſent by* Jupiter *to be his guide to conduct him into* Italy, *and that he muſt therefore keep his eyes always ſtedfaſtly fix'd upon him, without turning them to either ſide, or looking behind him.*

This is a fiction of *Homer*, who makes *Mercury* appear to *Priam*, and accoſt him in the following manner,

——— *Hear, Prince! and underſtand,*
Thou ow'ſt thy guidance to no mortal hand:
Hermes *I am, by* Jove *Almighty ſent,*
To lead you ſafely to Achilles's *Tent.*

Livy goes on, and improves upon this fable; he ſays, *That* Hannibal *was frighten'd at this viſion, and follow'd the young man without looking about him; that ruminating in his mind what it could be he was forbid to look upon, he was not able to ſuppreſs his curioſity; that he turned his head, and ſaw a wonderful huge ſerpent coming towards him, and making a prodigious havock amongſt the trees and the buſhes; that a terrible cloud and peals of thunder follow'd the ſerpent; that he ask'd the meaning of this prodigy, and heard a voice, that told him, it was the devaſtation of* Italy, *that he muſt leave the deſtinies in poſſeſſion of the ſecret, and had nothing to do but to continue his journey without farther enquiry.*

This is the firſt pretended miracle that was wrought in favour of *Hannibal* in the beginning of his march. But the hiſtorians of this ſtamp aſſiſt him with yet greater prodigies in his paſſage over the *Alps*. They repreſent theſe mountains as abſolutely impaſſable, and ſay that neither man nor beaſt had ever went over them before. It was neceſſary

therefore that ſome God ſhou'd come down from heaven to lead *Hannibal* by the hand over theſe hills, upon which he and his whole army would otherwiſe have infallibly periſhed.

But *Hannibal*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent captains that ever commanded armies, was not weak enough to engage in an enterprize, whoſe plot, like that of a tragedy, could not be unravel'd, without a machine. He knew the *Gauls* had more than once paſs'd over theſe mountains with numerous armies; had informed himſelf of the ways they took, and he was to take, and had by all the proviſions human prudence cou'd make, inſured the ſucceſs of ſo vaſt a deſign. *Polybius*'s account of this expedition is more credible than thoſe of other hiſtorians; for he does not write from flying reports, but relates what he heard from thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of it, and what he himſelf ſaw. For in order to come at the truth, he took the pains of going to take a view of the places which *Hannibal* and his army had paſſed over.

When *Hannibal* left new *Carthage* he had ninety thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. He paſs'd the *Ebro* without any reſiſtance; but as he approach'd the *Pyrenees* he was often obliged to fight, and to make himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified places. He loſt in theſe actions two or three and twenty thouſand men.

He left his brother *Hanno*, with ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, to command all the country between the *Ebro* and the *Pyrenees*, and ſent as many home to their own houſes, that he might win the

affections of numberleſs families, and know where to get recruits when he ſhould have occaſion for them. *Livy* tells us, that in doing this he only made a virtue of neceſſity; for ſeeing that three thouſand of his infantry, intimidated by the difficulty of the enterprize, had deſerted him as he paſs'd the *Pyrenees*, and that it was not ſafe for him to oblige them to return, and detain them by force, he pretended that he had given them leave to go, and at the ſame time diſmiſs'd 7000 more of thoſe that ſeem'd the moſt diſpirited themſelves, and the moſt capable of diſpiriting others.

With the 50000 foot, and 9000 horſe that remain'd, he paſs'd the *Pyrenees*, and march'd towards the *Rhone*. In his way through the eſtates of the *Gauls* he was obliged to win over ſome by money, and to reduce others by force. After divers engagements he arrived at the banks of the *Rhone*, within four days journey of the ſea. The *Gauls* who dwelt beyond the river, aſſembled themſelves together, and appeared on the other ſide to diſpute the paſſage with him.

Hannibal finding he could not paſs the river in the preſence of ſo large an army, nor ſtay long where he was without being ſurrounded, detach'd one half of his troops with orders to go higher up the *Rhone* and paſs over it, whilſt he amuſed the *Gauls* by his preſence, and employ'd himſelf in building boats.

Theſe troops, under the conduct of *Hanno*, the ſon of *Bomilcar*, march'd five or ſix leagues up the river,

river, and finding a great plenty of wood, hollow'd a vaſt number of trees, and paſs'd the *Rhone*. After a day's repoſe they went down on the other ſide, and let *Hannibal* know by a ſignal, that they were near the camp of the *Gauls*. He immediately embark'd his troops, and getting over without much difficulty, drew them up in order of battle as faſt as they landed, and ſent them on to engage the enemy. The *Gauls* being unable, at the ſame time, to reſiſt *Hanno* behind and *Hannibal* before, were eaſily put to flight.

Hannibal having ſafely paſs'd the 37 elephants he had brought along with him over the river, diſpatched 500 *Numidian* horſe to bring him intelligence of the *Roman* fleet, which was arrived, under the command of *Scipio*, at the mouth of the *Rhone*. *Scipio* at the ſame time ſent againſt theſe *Numidians* 300 choſen horſe, under the conduct of ſome *Marſeillois*, and ſome auxilliary troops of the *Gauls*. A warm engagement enſued, in which the *Numidians* were defeated, and purſued even to their camp. *Hannibal* after having harangued his troops, whoſe courage was greatly damp'd by the prodigious height of the *Alps*, decamped; and having with him no more than 8000 horſe and 38000 foot, arrived in four days at the confluence of the *Soane*, and the *Rhone*. Here he found two brothers at variance for the crown, and juſt about to decide their fate by a battle. He join'd his forces to thoſe of the elder, and made him victorious according to *Polybius*. But *Livy* ſays, that the two brothers made *Hannibal* the arbitrator

of their difference, and that he deciding it in favour of the elder, who had equity on his ſide, put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. This prince, to ſhow his gratitude, march'd with him as far as the *Alps*, as his guard againſt the *Allobroges*, upon whoſe borders he was obliged to paſs.

Hannibal march'd 100 miles in ten days up the river *Rhone*, and came to the foot of the *Alps* without any obſtruction, as *Polybius* informs us. But *Livy* ſays, that he was greatly embarraſſed in paſſing a river, which he calls *Druentia*. Commentators, by the way, have taken this for a river of the *Gauls* call'd *Durance*, which was not in *Hannibal*'s route. *Livy* certainly means *Druentius*, one of the two *Drances*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the *Rhone*.

When *Hannibal* came to the foot of the *Alps*, he found the *Allobroges*, who had not dared to attack him in the plain becauſe of his cavalry and the *Gauls* who eſcorted him, waiting for him in the defiles of the mountains. Had they carefully guarded theſe paſſages, the *Carthaginian* muſt inevitably have periſh'd; but they guarded them by day only, retiring at night to a neighbouring city. As ſoon as *Hannibal* underſtood this, he decamp'd at noon-day, came very near the enemy, and in the firſt watch of the night, after having made a great many fires in his camp, cull'd out his beſt ſoldiers, and went and ſeized on the paſſes, which the *Allobroges* had quitted. The *Allobroges*, next morning, ſtrangely ſurprized at finding *Hannibal* maſter of theſe poſts, knew not what reſolution to take. But ſeeing at length

length that his cavalry was uſeleſs in theſe narrow paſſages, that his baggage was very cumberſome, and that his ſoldiers march'd with great difficulty, they fell upon him on all ſides at once. The *Carthaginians* loſt a great number of men, horſes and beaſts of burden; ſome of which were taken, others kill'd, and others tumbled down the precipices.

Hannibal knowing there would be no ſafety for them who eſcaped, if he ſuffer'd his beaſts of burden and his baggage to be deſtroy'd, quitted the high poſts he had ſeized upon, flew with his ſelect troops to their aſſiſtance, cut a great number of the *Allobroges* in pieces, and put the reſt to flight. His army march'd on then without hazard, but with infinite pain and labour.

After this great danger, *Hannibal*, without loſing a moment, went and laid ſiege to the town to which his enemies had retired, took it, and recover'd a great many of his beaſts of burden and the baggage they had taken from him, and found it moreover well ſtor'd with proviſions. Next day he purſued his journey, and marched on for three days without meeting with any obſtruction, but the difficulty of the ways, but found himſelf on the fourth in greater danger than he had ever been in before. All the inhabitants of the parts he paſs'd through joining in a conſpiracy againſt him, came to meet him with olive branches in their hands, and crowns on their heads, as tokens of amity and peace. *Hannibal*, though he miſtruſted them, did not care to affront them by refuſing to accept of their alliance. Their

behaviour, which ſeem'd frank and ſincere, the hoſtages they gave him, and the abundance of proviſions they furniſh'd him with, prevail'd on him to place ſo much confidence in them as to take them for his guides. Theſe traytors in two days brought his army into a narrow valley, ſurrounded with ſteep rocks, and then fell all at once upon it. If *Hannibal*, by a wiſe precaution which never entirely forſakes great captains, had not placed his cavalry and baggage in his advanced-guard, and his choiceſt infantry in his rear, his whole army had been cut off; but this diſpoſition preſerved it. He himſelf ſuſtain'd the utmoſt efforts of the *Barbarians* all night upon a rock, to give his cavalry and baggage an opportunity of getting forward. The army got out of this valley the next day, and on the ninth gain'd the top of the *Alps*.

Hannibal encamp'd for two days to reſt his troops, and wait for thoſe that were left behind. Many beaſts of burden and horſes, which he thought loſt, came, by following the track of the army, ſafe to the camp.

The ſoldiers, quite ſpent with fatigues, fell into the laſt deſpair at the proſpect of the new dangers they had to go through in their deſcent from the ſnowy tops of the *Alps*. But *Hannibal* revived their drooping ſpirits, and inſpired them with freſh vigor, by ſhowing them *Italy* and *Rome* as the ſure reward of their toils; and by telling them, that he had a correſpondence with the people about the *Po*, who were weary of the *Roman* government, and only

ly waited for their preſence to declare in their favour.

The next day he began his deſcent, and though he had now rather thieves than enemies to encounter, loſt as many men in going down as in aſcending. For as the way was very narrow, very ſteep and cover'd with ſnow, the ſoldiers could not ſee where to tread, and they certainly tumbled down the precipices, if they ſtepp'd but ever ſo little aſide.

The troops endured theſe evils with ſome degree of patience, but when they found themſelves in a place impaſſable both to man and beaſt, their deſpair was not to be expreſſed. There was nothing on each ſide of them but inſurmountable rocks, and before them a precipice 950 feet deep; at the edge of which, the paſſage, which was naturally very narrow, was made yet narrower by the earth which the ſnow had occaſion'd to ſlip down. It was moreover ſo ſlippery, that neither man nor beaſt could keep on their feet.

In this extremity the *Carthaginian* at firſt attempted to go round theſe rocks, but the ſnows not permitting him to take this dangerous ſtep, he reſolved to open himſelf a way through the rocks themſelves. The hiſtorians, whom I have already mention'd, giving a looſe to their paſſion for the marvellous, ſay, that he burnt a prodigious quantity of wood upon theſe rocks; and when they were red hot, ſoften'd, and cleft them by pouring vinegar upon them, and afterwards hew'd out a way through them. This is the account which *Livy*, who

who follow'd writers of this complection, has left us. And *Pliny*, the naturaliſt, on the evidence of ſuch witneſſes, has not ſcrupled to affirm, that the force of vinegar is ſo great, that it cleaves rocks when looſen'd and mellow'd by fire.

One may reaſonably doubt of this pretended virtue of vinegar; and I dare ſay all good naturaliſts diſown it. Beſides, what a prodigious quantity would have been requiſite to cleave and calcine ſuch ſtupendous rocks, ſo that horſes and elephants might paſs through them.

I have been at the pains to examine what could give riſe to this fable, and find it was a tradition, which the bias of theſe gentlemen for the wonderful cauſed them to miſunderſtand. This tradition was, *That* Hannibal *open'd this paſſage by the help of vinegar*. Upon which theſe writers, without diving farther into the matter, or having recourſe to the diſcipline of the *Carthaginians*, which would have help'd them to the true ſenſe of it, fancied that vinegar was endow'd with this property. *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* aſſure us, that the *Carthaginians* had a law, by which their armies were forbid to drink wine. Their common drink was water; but on extraordinary occaſions, when hard labour was required of them, they were allow'd a little vinegar, which, as *Pliny* acknowledges, is very reviving. On this account vinegar, in proceſs of time, was conſtantly provided for their armies. *Julian*, the emperor, ſpeaking of his expedition againſt the *Perſians*, ſays, in his 28th letter, to *Libanius*, *They fill'd*

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the veſſels with wheat, or rather with biſket and vinegar.

Hannibal, therefore, to ſupport his ſoldiers under the laborious taſk of cleaving theſe rocks, gave them vinegar. Thus, I think, we ſhould explain this tradition, and not as theſe hiſtorians have done, who were always fonder of fable than truth. Thus we ſay every day, that a general carried a demi-lune, or other works, by the help of brandy; by which we mean he carried it by giving his ſoldiers brandy to enflame their courage, and to make them inſenſible of their danger. And *Polybius*, a moſt judicious writer, took care not to adulterate his hiſtory with this ſtory of the vinegar. He, on the contrary, ſays, that *Hannibal* made this way by meer dint of ſtrength and labour; that he cut it wide enough for the horſes the firſt day; and that the *Numidians* afterwards relieving one another in their turns, work'd with ſo much ſucceſs, that they made it, in three days, broad enough for the elephants.

Hannibal having compleated this work, was three days in getting his elephants, juſt ready to periſh with hunger, through this paſſage; three more before he came to the bottom of the *Alps*, and came on the ſeventh into the plain in the neighbourhood of the *Po*. He ſpent five months in his march from new *Carthage* to the *Alps*, fifteen days in paſſing over them, and arrived in *Italy* after the ſetting of the *Pleïades*, that is about the middle of *November*.

Hannibal immediately review'd his army. Hiſtorians are not agreed about the number of troops he had left. Some ſay he had 100000 foot, and 12000 horſe. But this is impoſſible; ſince he had not ſo many even at his ſetting out from *New Carthage*, and had only 50000 foot and 12000 horſe when he paſs'd the *Pyrenees*. Others give him only 6000 horſe and 20000 foot. But *Hannibal* himſelf is, I think, rather to be credited than theſe authors. When he left *Italy*, he erected a pillar at *Lacinium*, with an inſcription importing, that after he had paſſed the *Alps* he had no more than 8000 *Spaniards*, 6000 horſe and 1200 *Africans*. But it's probable that *Hannibal*, through a ſpice of vanity, leſſen'd the number of his forces to brighten his own glory, and to ſully that of the *Romans*. The moſt probable account is that of *Polybius*; who ſays, that *Hannibal*, when he left the *Rhone*, had 38000 foot, and upwards of 8000 horſe; that he loſt one half of them in paſſing the *Alps*, and that the reſt were ſo disfigured, and emaciated by the prodigious toils and hardſhips they had ſuffer'd, that they ſeem'd more like ghoſts than men.

Hannibal's firſt care was to reſt his troops, and renew the vigor of his men and his beaſts. When this was done, he made propoſitions to the *Piedmonteſe* of joining themſelves to him; but they deſpiſing the miſerable condition to which they ſaw him reduced, rejected his offers. Upon this he beſieged their capital, and took it in three days. This ſucceſs did ſo much intimidate the *Gauls*, who dwelt about

about the *Po*, that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of abandoning the *Romans*, and going over to him. But the arrival of *Scipio*, who was on his march to *Placentia*, detain'd them in their duty. *Scipio* made all poſſible haſte to paſs the *Po*, came to the *Teſſin*, and threw a bridge over it. *Hannibal* march'd to meet him. Theſe two generals were prepoſſeſs'd with a high opinion of each other. *Hannibal*'s great actions in *Spain*, his taking *Saguntum*, and his paſſing the *Alps*, made *Scipio* look upon him as a very extraordinary man: And *Hannibal* could not but think highly of *Scipio*, ſince the *Romans* had choſen him for his antagoniſt, and entruſted the fortune of *Rome* in his hands.

They both before the engagement harangued their troops. *Scipio* addreſs'd his in the following manner. *If I were, my fellow-ſoldiers, at the head of the army I had on my arrival in* Gaul, *I ſhould not give my ſelf the trouble of haranguing it. For to what purpoſe ſhould I exhort troops that defeated the cavalry of our enemies on the banks of the* Rhone, *made them afraid of ſtaying to engage me, and to own my victory by their flight? But as this army is ſent to my brother* Scipio *in* Spain, *where it fights under my auſpices, according to the orders it has received, I am come to offer my ſervice here, that you may have a conſul to lead you againſt the* Carthaginians. *It is neceſſary for me therefore to ſpeak a few words to troops that neither know, nor are known to their general. The enemies, my fellow-ſoldiers, with whom you are about to engage, are the ſame you vanquiſhed*

quiſhed both by land and ſea in the laſt war, the ſame that have been your tributaries for 20 *years, and the very ſame from whom you took* Sardinia *and* Sicily. *And I am perſuaded that you and your enemies entertain ſuch ſentiments as become the victor and the vanquiſhed. 'Tis not courage, but neceſſity ſpurs them on. For can you ſuppoſe that they, who refuſed to fight when their troops were entire, are braver and fuller of hopes after the loſs of two thirds of their army on the rocks of the* Alps? *Will any one ſay, that they are, though few in number, ſo ſtrong and valiant that nothing can bear up againſt them? Quite the contrary; they are but ſhadows, and ghoſts of men. They are almoſt waſted away to nothing by hunger, and cold, and the hardſhips they have ſuffer'd. Their limbs are frozen, their arms hack'd to pieces, and their horſes incapable of ſervice. They are not enemies, they are only wretched remnants and skeletons of enemies. My only fear is, my fellow-ſoldiers, that it will be ſaid, the* Alps *had defeated them before they were vanquiſh'd by you. This is perhaps an inſtance of the juſtice of the Gods: They avenged their own injury by deſtroying the greater part of the army of this perfidious general and people, without our aſſiſtance; and as we, next to them, are moſt injured by their treachery, they leave the finiſhing of their deſtruction to us. Let us try whether their country, in* 20 *years ſpace, has produced other* Carthaginians, *or whether they are not the ſame we have conquer'd already; who have been our tributaries, and paid us a ranſom for their lives. I don't there-*

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fore, my fellow-ſoldiers, ask you to fight againſt them with the ſame courage as againſt your other enemies; all that I deſire is, that you would meet them with that rage and indignation that would glow in your boſoms, if you beheld your own proper ſlaves take up arms againſt you. Wou'd to heaven that our glory only, and not our ſafety were at ſtake! It is not now Sardinia *and* Sicily, *but* Italy, *we fight for. If we don't obtain the victory, we have no other army behind us to oppoſe the enemy, no other* Alps *to retard his paſſage, and give us time to recruit. 'Tis here we muſt oppoſe his efforts, and fight as though beneath the walls of* Rome. *'Tis to us the ſenate and people have committed their ſafety, and ſuch as our valour is, ſuch will the fortune of* Rome, *and its empire be.* This was *Scipio*'s ſpeech to the *Romans*.

Hannibal alſo harangued the *Carthaginians*. But as he knew that what we ſee makes a deeper impreſſion than what we hear, before he began his harangue he placed a lively image of their condition before their eyes. He ſent for ſome *Gallick* priſoners, who were loaded with fetters, and all disfigured by the ill treatment they had receiv'd; and ordering ſome horſes and arms of their country to be laid before them, aſk'd them, by an interpreter, if any of them had courage enough to fight man to man on condition of the victors having their liberty. They all embraced the offer, and eagerly ſued for the favour of ſtanding a chance for their freedom. They caſt lots, and thoſe on whom it fell, arm'd themſelves with great alacrity and joy for the combat.

bat. Several couple engaged in this manner, like ſo many pair of gladiators; and the whole army, who were ſpectators, rejoiced as much at the good fortune of the vanquiſh'd as the victors: For as one was freed from his miſeries by conqueſt, the other was freed from them by death. *Hannibal* ſeeing his troops work'd up to his purpoſe, addreſs'd them in this manner. *If you, my fellow-ſoldiers, make the caſe of theſe ſlaves your own, we have conquer'd. What I have exhibited before you is not a meer ſhow to divert you, but a clear mirror that preſents you with a lively image of your preſent condition. Nay, I don't know but that the bonds with which fortune has bound you, may be ſtronger than thoſe of your priſoners. On your right and left is the ſea without one ſhip to aſſiſt you in your flight. The* Po, *more violent and rapid than the* Rhone, *is before you; and the* Alps, *which you found ſo much difficulty in ſurmounting ev'n when your ſtrength was unimpaired, are behind you. Here, therefore, my friends, we muſt conquer or die. The neceſſity which obliges you to fight, ſhows you at the ſame time the reward you will merit by your victory, the greateſt that mortals can ask even of the gods themſelves. Were we by our valour to recover only* Sicily *and* Sardinia, *unjuſtly raviſh'd from our fathers, would not this be a great acquiſition? But all the riches which the* Romans *have heaped up by ſo many triumphs, and the* Romans *themſelves, are about to fall into your hands. Take up your arms then, and dart on your prey, aſſured of the protection of the gods. It is time for you to grow*

rich

rich by your conqueſts. Fortune has put a period to your labours here, and is about to reward your ſervices. The army you are to engage, has been already vanquiſhed and beſieged this very ſummer by the Gauls, *and is as much a ſtranger to their captain, as their captain to them. For I am well aſſured if the* Roman *and* Carthaginian *armies were ſhown to* Scipio *without their enſigns, he would not know which he commanded. Will you compare me to a general of two or three days ſtanding; or your ſelves after ſo many noble exploits, to troops already vanquiſhed? Your enemies may have hope in their flight, for their country every where offers them a ſafe retreat; but neceſſity compels you to exert your ſelves, and puſhes you on to victory or death. We muſt conquer; or, if fortune wavers, rather die in battle than flight. I repeat it again, my dear fellow-ſoldiers, if you rightly weigh theſe things, we have already conquer'd. I won't injure you ſo much as to ſuſpect that you have leſs courage than your captives.*

Hannibal ſaying a good deal more to the ſame purpoſe, ſpirited up his troops to the pitch he deſired, and they teſtified their alacrity by loud acclamations.

It was quite otherwiſe in the army of the *Romans*, who were diſmay'd by the prodigies that happen'd. A wolf enter'd their camp, tore in pieces all thoſe he met in his way, and retired unhurt. And a ſwarm of bees had ſettled on a tree which ſhaded the *Prætorium*. *Scipio* having expiated theſe prodigies, advanced, and drew up his troops in order of

battle. He ranged his dartmen and *Gallic* cavalry in the firſt line, and the *Romans* and their allies in the ſecond. *Hannibal* diſpoſed his horſe that had bridles, in the body, and his *Numidians*, that had none, in the wings.

Scipio's dartmen, as ſoon as they had thrown their javelins, were ſo terrified at the fury with which *Hannibal*'s cavalry fell upon them, that they gave ground, and fled to their ſecond line for ſhelter. The ſtruggle between the cavalry was obſtinate, and a long time dubious. But at length *Scipio*'s was diſorder'd, and ſo hard preſſed, that they turned their backs; and the *Numidians* improving their opportunity, advanced upon them, and threw the *Romans* into a great conſternation, which was heighten'd by *Scipio*'s being wounded. He had certainly been killed if his ſon, who afterwards obtain'd the glorious ſirname of *Africanus*, had not fled to his aſſiſtance, and ſaved his life. Shame revived the courage of his cavalry, who receiving him in the midſt of them, and covering him with their arms, rather retreated than fled to their camp. *Scipio* found by this engagement, that the *Carthaginians* were ſtronger in horſe; and that the plains between the *Po* and the *Alps* were on this account diſadvantageous to him. He decamp'd therefore with all expedition, repaſſed the *Po*, and retired to *Placentia*, a colony of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* follow'd him in a few days, drew up his troops, and offer'd him battle. But *Scipio* being obliged to take care of his wounds, and making no motion, the *Carthaginian* encamp'd

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at ſix miles diſtance from *Placentia*. One night the *Gauls* in *Scipio*'s army took up arms, and having killed the guards at the gates of the camp, went over to the *Carthaginians*, to the number of 2000 foot and 200 horſe. *Hannibal* receiv'd them kindly, encouraged them by large promiſes, and ſent them home to their own cities to relate what had happen'd, and prevail on others to follow their example. *Scipio* believing all the *Gauls* would go over to the *Carthaginians*, decamped the next night, and went and pitch'd his tents in a ſafe poſt on the river *Trebia*, where he might receive aſſiſtance from a great number of neighbouring allies.

Hannibal follow'd him immediately, and encamped within five miles of the *Romans*. As he could not ſubſiſt long for want of proviſions, he ſent ſome troops to *Claſtidium*, where the *Romans* had a magazine of corn, and took it by corrupting *Darius*, the governor, with 400 pieces of gold.

Sempronius, in the mean time, arrived by long marches at *Rimini*. From thence he went with his army to join *Scipio*, who had paſs'd the *Trebia*. When the two armies were united, every one ſaw that if the *Roman* empire was not defended by ſuch great forces, there would be no hopes of ſaving it. *Sempronius*, who had more ambition than prudence, was very eager to engage before *Scipio* was cured of his wounds, that he might have all the glory of the ſucceſs with which he flatter'd himſelf. *Scipio* uſed all the arguments he could to diſſuade him from fighting. He alledg'd, That their troops were late-

ly raiſed, and conſequently not enured to war; that by exerciſing them in the winter they would be more capable of ſervice in the ſpring; that the *Gauls*, prone by nature to change, might by that time abandon *Hannibal*; and that he himſelf being cured of his wounds, might be able to ſecond his endeavours. But notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances *Sempronius* perſiſted in his deſign. A ſucceſsful rencounter, which he had a few days after with 2000 *Numidian* and *Gallic* horſe ſent out by *Hannibal* to ravage the country between the *Po* and the *Trebia*, whom he beat and purſued to their camp, enflamed his ardor of haſtening a battle, and puff'd him up with ſo high an opinion of himſelf, that he look'd upon *Hannibal* as already conquer'd. The *Carthaginian*, on his part, was deſirous of coming to a battle, for the ſame reaſons that *Scipio* was for putting it off. He knew beſides, that a general who invades the enemies country, can't long maintain himſelf there, unleſs he keeps up the hopes of his allies by a continued ſeries of glaring actions.

A river ran through the plain, which was between the two armies, whoſe banks were high, and cover'd with trees and buſhes. *Hannibal* thought this a proper place for an ambuſcade, and the more ſo, becauſe the *Romans* would not ſuſpect one there. They were apprehenſive only of woods and coverts, not conſidering that they are ſometimes leſs proper to hide in than the eminences and hollows which are commonly found in an open country; from whence thoſe who lie in ambuſh may more eaſily diſcover what

what paſſes around them, and embrace the moſt favourable opportunity of executing their orders.

Hannibal called a council of the principal officers of his army, gave his brother *Mago* 1000 foot and 1000 horſe, and told him where to lie in ambuſh, and when to riſe and fall upon the enemy. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, he order'd his *Numidians* to paſs the *Trebia*, and approach the enemies camp; and when they ſaw them come out of their entrenchments, to draw back by degrees and repaſs the river, in order to entice the *Romans* to follow them. *Sempronius* ſeeing the *Numidians* at the gates of the camp, ſent out all his cavalry and 6000 foot againſt them, and then follow'd himſelf with all the reſt of his troops. The *Numidians* retreated as they were order'd, and the *Romans* paſs'd the river after them, which was greatly ſwell'd by the ſnow and the rain that had fallen in the night. The weather was ſo cold that the *Romans* ſuffer'd greatly in getting over the river; and coming out of their intrenchments faſting, were not able to bear up under the toils of the day. *Ulyſſes* ſays very well to *Achilles* in *Homer*, never lead forth your troops to attack the enemy with empty ſtomachs; for,

Strength is deriv'd from ſpirits and from blood,
And theſe augment by gen'rous wine and food;
What boaſtful ſon of war without that ſtay,
Can laſt a hero through a ſingle day?

Courage may prompt; but, ebbing out his ſtrength,
Mere unſupported man muſt yield at length;
Shrunk with dry famine, and with toils declin'd,
The drooping body will deſert the mind:
But built anew with ſtrength-conferring fare
With limbs and ſoul untam'd, he tires the war.
Diſmiſs the people then, and give command,
With ſtrong repaſt to hearten ev'ry band.

POPE's Iliad, Book 19. Ver. 159.

Hannibal follow'd this rule; for he had not only taken care to hearten his troops by food, but had order'd them moreover to rub their bodies with oil, that they might be able to reſiſt the cold. He firſt of all ſent out his *Baleares*, and the reſt of his light-armed forces, to the number 8000, to oppoſe the *Romans*; made a line of 20000 *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Africans*; and ranged his cavalry, which conſiſted of 10000 men, in the wings, with his elephants in their front.

Sempronius drew up his army according to the cuſtom of the *Romans*. He had 16000 *Roman* foot, 20000 allies and 4000 horſe. He ranged his cavalry in the wings, and marched boldly againſt the enemy. The light-armed troops began the battle. *Sempronius*'s dartmen were immediately driven back; and his cavalry were not able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, who had taken care to refreſh and hearten themſelves before they came out of their camp. Both his wings therefore being uncover'd, the *Carthaginian* and *Numi-*

dian pikemen attack'd them with ſuch fury, that they forced them to give ground, and drove them back to the river. Then *Mago* riſing from his ambuſcade, charged the main body of the *Romans* behind; who, ſpur'd on by neceſſity and ſhame, made unheard of efforts. They routed the *Gauls*, a great part of the *Africans*, and broke through the battalion of the *Carthaginians*; but ſeeing at length the defeat of both their wings, and being hard preſſed on all ſides with great ſlaughter, they betook themſelves to flight. Ten thouſand eſcaped to *Placentia*, but all the reſt fell by the ſword, except ſome horſe, who not being able to repaſs the river, fled alſo to *Placentia*. The *Carthaginians* loſt very few men in battle, moſt of thoſe who were ſlain being *Gauls*; but a great number of men, and horſes, and almoſt all their elephants, died with cold.

Sempronius, to conceal this misfortune, wrote the ſenate word, that the bad weather had ſnatched the victory out of his hands. This diſguiſe did not long blind the *Romans*; they ſoon perceived the greatneſs of their loſs by its conſequences. But their courage never appear'd ſo great and invincible as in their misfortunes. They made new levies, and provided for the ſecurity of the towns in the neighbourhood of the enemy; and the time of electing conſuls being come, choſe *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* conſuls; who raiſed troops amongſt their allies, and ſent proviſions to *Rimini* and *Tuſcany*. *Servilius* went to *Rimini*. *Flaminius* paſs'd through *Tuſcany* with his legions, and encamped at *Arretium*.

Scipio in the mean time, the night after the battle, paſſed his troops over the *Trebia* on floats of hurdles, in order to join *Sempronius*, without any moleſtation from the *Carthaginians*. Either the bad weather and violent rain prevented their perceiving him, or elſe their fatigue and wounds render'd them incapable of oppoſing him. When he arrived at *Placentia*, not thinking it proper to over-burden that colony by quartering two armies upon them for the winter, he paſſed the *Po*, and led his army to *Cremona*.

Hannibal, who had taken up his quarters in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, was not idle. There was a caſtle near *Placentia* ſtrongly fortified, and very well garriſoned, which he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of. He march'd with his cavalry and light-armed forces, and attack'd it in the night.

The guards, who ſaw him coming, ſet up ſo loud a cry that it was heard at *Placentia*. The conſul ordering his legions to follow him to the battle, went immediately to their aſſiſtance. A warm engagement enſued between the cavalry, in which *Hannibal* was wounded, and obliged to retire. A few days after, without waiting for the cure of his wound, he marched againſt another caſtle, which the *Romans* had fortified during their war with the *Gauls*, and to which ſeveral neighbouring people had fled for refuge. This mixt multitude, jealous of the glory which the garriſon of the neighbouring caſtle had gain'd by their defence, went out to meet the *Carthaginians* to the number of 30000 men; but

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as they marched without order or diſcipline, they were eaſily routed by *Hannibal*, who purſued, and obliged them to deliver up the place and their arms. As ſoon as this was done, he abandon'd it to be plunder'd; and the *Carthaginians* were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes and cruelties that were ever committed in a town taken by aſſault.

Theſe are the only expeditions of *Hannibal* during the winter, which was exceedingly ſevere. Early in the ſpring he left his winter quarters to go into *Tuſcany*; but as ſoon as he came to the *Appennine* Hills, he met with ſuch terrible weather, and violent ſtorms, as made them as dangerous to him as the *Alps* themſelves. After the loſs of many men and horſes, and ſix of the ſeven elephants he had left after the battle of *Trebia*, being obliged to return, he went and encamped within ſeven miles of *Placentia*. The next morning he iſſued out of his camp at the head of 12000 foot and 5000 horſe. *Sempronius* did not decline the combat. The two armies were within three miles of each other, and the combat began with equal animoſity. The *Romans* had the advantage at firſt, drove the *Carthaginians* back to their camp, and attacked it with great fury. *Hannibal* having receiv'd the fugitives, and placed his troops at the gates before their intrenchments, order'd them to watch the ſignal which he ſhould give them for a ſally at three of the clock in the afternoon. *Sempronius* finding all his efforts to no purpoſe, and that it was impoſſible to force the camp, ſounded a retreat. The *Carthaginian* that moment gave

gave the ſignal, order'd his cavalry to the right and left, and iſſued out himſelf at the head of his infantry. The battle was renew'd with freſh fury, and none would have been left to kill or be kill'd, had not night interpoſed and put an end to the combat. The number of the ſlain was equal, but that of the *Romans* more conſiderable; for they loſt ſeveral knights, five legionary tribunes, and three of their confederate generals.

Sempronius retired to *Lucca*, and *Hannibal* went into *Liguria*. As he was the moſt crafty of all generals, he was alſo the moſt diffident; for diffidence is the conſtant companion of craft. The natural levity of the *Gauls* made him ſuſpect them. To guard himſelf therefore from any attempts they might make on his perſon, he wore many different ſorts of dreſſes, and a vaſt variety of peruques, and changed them ſo continually, that they who had juſt ſeen him, could not, a few moments after, know him again in his diſguiſe. And this truly *Punic* ſtratagem, though certainly very ludicrous and without example, might, for ought we know, be the means of ſaving his life.

After a ſhort ſtay in *Liguria* he reſumed his former deſign of going into *Tuſcany*, to attack *Flaminius* at *Arretium*. There were two ways to it; the one eaſy, but very long; the other ſhort, but very dangerous and difficult; for it lay croſs very large and deep fens, which were lately render'd more impaſſable by the overflowings of the river *Arno*. But difficulties only enflamed *Hannibal*'s courage the more,

more, and ſet a keener edge on his impatience. Having therefore made preparations for paſſing through theſe marſhes, he ranged the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, with his baggage, in his advanced-guard; the *Gauls* march'd next; after them his cavalry; and laſt of all his brother *Mago*, and the moſt active *Numidians*. He diſpoſed his troops in this manner, that the *Gauls*, if they ſhould be diſhearten'd by the difficulties, and want to go back, might be prevented, and be compell'd to proceed by the cavalry and *Numidians* that brought up the rear.

There is no inſtance of ſo long a march through fens. The troops were four days and three nights in the water, and multitudes of them periſhed; ſome being ſwallow'd up in the bogs, and others fainting and dying with fatigue. Many horſes alſo and beaſts of burden were loſt; but their loſs was not without its uſe; for their dead bodies ſwimming upon the water, ſerved thoſe, who were happy enough to catch hold of them, as beds, for a few moments, to repoſe and ſleep upon. *Hannibal* rode in the middle on an elephant, the only one he had left. His courage alone, which was ever invincible, ſupported his troops; for they ſeeing their general's firmneſs and conſtancy, were aſhamed of being caſt down themſelves. He was afflicted with a diſorder in his eyes, which was ſo much encreaſed by theſe fatigues, and the watry air of the fens, that he loſt the ſight of one of them. As ſoon as he had croſs'd over, and got upon dry ground, he refreſh'd his army, and then purſued his journey, having the city of *Cortona* on his

his left hand, and the lake of *Thraſymenus* on his right.

One of the chief duties of the general of an army, is to learn the genius and complexion of his antagoniſt. *Hannibal* ow'd his ſucceſs againſt *Flaminius*, to the knowledge he had of his character. He knew him to be a man of great eloquence, but very incapable of managing a war; that he was moreover ambitious, and raſh, and much elated with the ſucceſſes of his firſt conſulſhip. He ſuppoſed therefore that *Flaminius* would be exaſperated at the devaſtations of his march, and make all the haſte he could to engage him, without waiting for his collegue, in order to have all the glory of the victory with which he flatter'd himſelf. He was not out in his gueſs. *Flaminius* did not hearken to thoſe who adviſed him to wait for *Servilius*, and not to hazard a battle againſt an enemy enur'd to war, ſuperior in cavalry, and greatly buoy'd up, and encouraged by late ſucceſſes. He was not at all moved by the frightful prodigies which happen'd at that time, and foretold his misfortunes; for not ſtanding in any fear of the gods, he look'd upon them only as trifling occurrences.

The arrows of ſome ſoldiers in *Sicily*, and a knight's ſtaff in *Sardinia*, were ſeen on fire; and all the coaſts of the ſea looked bright with flames. Shields were ſeen all cover'd with blood. Several ſoldiers were ſtruck dead with lightning. The diſc of the ſun appeared leſs than uſual at *Præneſte*; and red hot ſtones fell from the heavens. At *Arpi* buck-

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lers were ſeen in the air, and the moon fighting with the ſun. Two moons appeared at *Capua* at noon-day; and the waters at *Cære* were turn'd into blood. Bloody ears of corn were reaped in the fields of *Antium*. The heavens open'd over the city *Falerii*, and the chaſm was fill'd up with a great light. The lots at *Præneste* loſt much of their uſual bulk; and one of them fell to the ground, on which this inſcription was read; Mars *prepares his arms*.

Theſe prodigies, which terrified moſt men, did not alarm *Flaminius*. *I will not*, ſays he, *ſuffer the war to be carried to the gates of* Rome; *and defer fighting for her, as* Camillus *formerly did, 'till I am pent up within her walls*. He order'd his troops to begin their march immediately. It happen'd that his horſe as he was mounting it, ſtarted without any apparent cauſe, and threw him headlong on the ground; but this accident did not induce him to change his deſign. He follow'd *Hannibal*, who had already paſt by his camp, and drew up his army near the lake *Thraſymenus*.

The road which *Hannibal* took between this lake and the city of *Crotona*, was very narrow, and ended in a large plain, bounded on one ſide by mountains, on the other by the lake, and by a hill at the end. *Hannibal*, whoſe cunning never forſook him, made his advantage of this ſituation. He drew up his *Africans* and *Spaniards* in the plain, hid his *Baleares* and light-armed forces behind the mountains, and his cavalry under a hill at the mouth of the paſs. *Flaminius* enters inconſiderately into the plain

plain without having ſent out any ſcouts to examine it, and attacks the troops he ſaw in order of battle, without having any ſuſpicion of thoſe he did not ſee. Both armies fought with ſuch great animoſity and obſtinacy, that they did not perceive a violent earthquake which happen'd during their engagement; though it was ſo terrible that whole cities were deſtroy'd by it, rivers turn'd out of their channels, and mountains rent to their very foundations. Upon *Hannibal*'s giving the ſignal, the ambuſcaders roſe and ſurrounded the *Romans*; who being thus attack'd in front, rear and flanks, were butcher'd in a dreadful manner. *Flaminius* having performed many ſurprizingly great and couragious actions, was killed with the flower of his army. Many periſhed in the lake to which they fled for ſafety. Upwards of 15000 *Romans* were killed on the ſpot, and as many taken priſoners. *Hannibal* loſt only 1500 men, and the moſt of them were *Gauls*. His firſt care was to ſearch amongſt the dead for the body of *Flaminius*, in order to bury it with all the honours due to his courage; but he could not find it, or ever learn what became of it.

The news of this defeat threw the *Romans* into a terrible conſternation; which was greatly encreaſed, when they heard, three days after, that a body of 4000 horſe ſent by *Servilius*, under the conduct of *Centronius*, to the aſſiſtance of his collegue, had been routed and taken by *Maharbal*. Their affright and confuſion were now ſo great, that none were capabable of giving, or taking advice. It was however

ever unanimouſly agreed, that a dictator was their only remedy; that there was a neceſſity for chuſing a man capable of performing the office with equal courage and authority; and that *Fabius Maximus* was the only one, whoſe largeneſs of ſoul and ſanctity of manners were equal to the charge. He was therefore appointed dictator, and he choſe *L. Minucius* for his general of the horſe.

He firſt of all endeavoured to draw down the favour of the gods by vows and ſacrifices; and then telling the people, that the defeat at *Thraſymenus* did not happen through the cowardice of the ſoldiers, but through the negligence of their general, and his contempt of the omens; he exhorted them to honour the gods, appeaſe their anger, and not to fear the enemy. He did not mean by this to make them ſuperſtitious, but to revive their courage by piety, and to diſſipate their fears by a firm reliance on the protection of heaven.

Then the *Decemviri* were order'd to conſult the ſacred writings, which were call'd the *Books of the* Sybils. Their report was, *That the vow made to* Mars *had not been perform'd with its due ceremonies; that it ought to be renew'd and enlarged; that they ought to vow the great games to* Jupiter, *and conſecrate a temple to* Venus Erycina, *and another to* Mens, *the goddeſs of good counſels; that public prayers ſhould be offer'd up, and the beds with the images of the gods, expoſed in the temples; and, laſtly, that they ought to make a vow of ſacrificing all the cattle that ſhould be brought forth in the ſpring,*

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if their arms were ſucceſsful, and the republic reſtored to the condition it was in before the war. The people being conſulted on this laſt article, ratified it, and every thing was punctually performed according to the direction of the prieſts.

Hannibal after the battle of *Thraſymenus* continued his march, and arrived in ten days at the city of *Adria*, where he refreſhed his army. As his horſes had been expoſed to all the inclemencies of the winter, and ſuffer'd greatly by long marches and croſſing the fens, they had contracted a ſort of mange and farcy, which made them incapable of ſervice. He cured them by cauſing them to be waſh'd, ſeveral times a day, with old wine, of which he had great plenty. This particular did not ſeem to me too trifling to be related in a life, ſince *Polybius* thought it worthy of his hiſtory. *Homer* has even embelliſhed his poetry by a ſlight deſcription of the care which *Andromache* took of *Hector*'s horſes. *Hannibal* approach'd *Spoletum*, which he hoped he ſhould have eaſily taken; but it made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance that he was obliged to retire with great loſs. This diſappointment made him ſenſible that the power of the *Romans* muſt needs be very great, ſince one of their leaſt colonies had ventur'd to oppoſe his victorious arms. Another thing alſo, which greatly aſtoniſhed him, was, that none of the cities in alliance with *Rome*, though he had gain'd three great victories, had come over, or open'd their gates to receive him.

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He enter'd into the territories of *Picenum*, a country abounding with all ſorts of fruits, and full of riches. After he had refreſhed his army, he ravaged the country of the *Marſi*, *Marrucii* and *Peligni*, the neighbourhood of *Arpi*, and *Luceria* the frontier town of *Apulia*. From thence he paſt into the eſtates of the *Samnites*, pillag'd all the territories of *Beneventum*, took the city of *Teleſia*, and in ſhort done all he could to exaſperate the dictator, and to force him, by ſuch indignities and the diſgrace of ſeeing the pillage of ſo many cities of his allies, to come to an engagement. But *Fabius* was not a man to be ſhaken. Nothing could induce him to change the reſolution he had taken of not fighting; of exhauſting the vigour of *Hannibal*'s army by time; of reducing it to the greateſt want by abundance; and of ſwallowing up the ſmall number of the *Carthaginian* troops by his numerous legions.

With this view the *Roman* always encamp'd on eminences, and in the moſt inacceſſible poſts. He never was in motion, when *Hannibal* was at reſt; and when *Hannibal* marched, was never far behind him. He kept conſtantly on the hills; far enough off not to be compell'd to fight, and yet near enough to make the enemy apprehend, that he only waited for a favourable opportunity of attacking him at a diſadvantage.

This conduct ſunk his credit in the camp, and even at *Rome* it ſelf, where he was commonly call'd *Hannibal*'s pedagogue. *Minucius* laughing publickly at his incampments, ſaid, that *their dictator*

pick'd them out very commodious theatres for ſeeing the ruin and conflagrations of Italy. And he aſked *Fabius*'s friends, *Whether it was to hide himſelf from the enemy, that he wrapt himſelf up in the clouds and the miſts? Or, whether he ſuſpected the earth to be an unſafe poſt, and deſign'd to encamp in the heavens?*

Theſe railleries being related to *Fabius*, he ſaid; *When we are only afraid for our country, there is nothing ſhameful in our fear. Should I be alarmed at the opinion of men, and ſuffer my ſelf to be moved by their reproaches, I ſhould then indeed be unworthy of the unbounded power with which they have entruſted me, and become the ſlave of thoſe I ought to command.*

The *Carthaginian* was the only one who formed a right judgment of the *Roman*'s Capacity, and knew that *Fabius* attack'd *Hannibal* by *Hannibal*'s wiles and ſtratagems. He went into *Campania* in hopes of making himſelf maſter of *Capua*. Here he fell into a groſs miſtake. He order'd the guide to lead him to *Caſinum*; for by the poſſeſſion of this poſt he would have block'd up the way of the *Romans*, and hinder'd them from aſſiſting their allies. But as the *Carthaginians* pronounced the *Latin* words but ill, *Hannibal* lengthen'd the ſecond ſyllable of *Caſinum* ſo much, that the guide underſtood him *Caſilinum*, and led him accordingly croſs the country of *Allifæ*, *Calalia* and *Calenum*, into the territories of the *Stellates*. *Hannibal* ſeeing himſelf ſhut in by mountains and rivers, called the guide, and aſk'd him,

him, whither he had brought him? The guide answer'd, to *Casilinum*. The *Carthaginian* then finding out the mistake of the guide, order'd him to be crucified for the fault he himself had committed. He fortified his camp, and sent *Maharbal* with his cavalry into the territories of the *Falerni*, who ravaged it as far as *Sinuessa*. *Hannibal* went and encamped on the river *Vulturnus*, and set fire to the most beautiful part of *Italy*. *Fabius*, who constantly attended him, encamped on the ridge of mount *Massica*; and to cut off *Hannibal*'s return, posted some troops on the top of mount *Callicula*, threw a good garrison into *Casilinum*, and sent *Hostilius Mancinus* with 4000 horse to view the enemy. *Mancinus* soon fell in with some *Numidians*, who were scatter'd up and down the country, and kill'd a party of them; but venturing too far, contrary to the orders of the dictator, he was routed, and kill'd with most of his troops by *Carthalo*, general of the *Carthaginian* horse. They that escaped arrived at *Cates*, and from thence by by-ways to *Fabius*'s camp. The dictator was join'd the same day by *Minucius*, who had been sent out to seize on the post of *Terracina*, in order to hinder *Hannibal* from passing into the territories of *Rome*, as he would have done, had he found the way over the *Appennines* unguarded.

The dictator and general of the horse having joined their armies together, pitch'd their tents in the road which *Hannibal* was to take. The *Carthaginian* was encamped two miles distant from the *Ro-*

mans, whom he harraſs'd with his light horſe. There was a ſkirmiſh between them, in which the *Carthaginians* loſt 800 men, and the *Romans* only 200. The winter drew nigh; and *Hannibal* finding that his retreat by *Caſilinum* was cut off; that he was in danger of being reduced to winter amongſt the rocks of *Formia*, the ſands of *Lixternum*, and frightful lakes, where he could not have found ſubſiſtence for his army, invented this ſtratagem. He order'd torches made of dry twigs and buſhes, to be tied to the horns of 2000 oxen; and that theſe torches, when he gave the ſignal in the evening, ſhou'd be lighted, and the oxen drove towards the tops of the mountains.

Whilſt every thing neceſſary for the execution of his ſtratagem was getting ready, he drew up his army in battalia in the duſk of the evening, and order'd it to march on ſlowly. The oxen, as long as the fire on their horns was gentle, and burnt only the torches, advanced ſlowly towards the mountains. The ſhepherds and herdſmen, who kept their flocks and herds on the hills, wonder'd to ſee theſe illuminations, and concluded that an army was marching by the light of flambeaux. But the oxen, as ſoon as the fire reach'd the roots of their horns, and burnt them to the quick, flung their heads up and down, and cover'd one another all over with flames. They then no longer obſerved any certain order or road, but mad with pain and rage, ran furiouſly croſs the mountains, ſetting every thing in their way on fire. This was a terrifying ſight to them that guarded the paſſes;

paſſes; who thinking that theſe lights were flambeaux carried by men, did not at all doubt but that the enemy was coming to aſſault and hem them in on all ſides. None of them had courage enough to maintain their poſts, but forſook them, and fled to their camp. *Hannibal*'s light-armed infantry ſeized immediately on the paſſes, and gave time to the reſt of the army to march through them, with all their great booty, without fear or danger.

Some of the oxen ſtray'd far enough to fall into the hands of *Fabius*, by which he underſtood, even during the night, that this was a trick of *Hannibal*; but being apprehenſive of an ambuſcade, he contented himſelf with keeping his troops all night under arms. At break of day he fell upon the hindmoſt battalions of the light-armed infantry, which had been ſent to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes, and broke their ranks. *Hannibal* perceiving this, ordered ſome *Spaniſh* troops, that had been accuſtomed to climb up rocks and mountains, to paſs from the van to the rear. Theſe *Spaniards* charged the heavy-armed *Romans* ſo opportunely, that they kill'd a great many of them, and obliged *Fabius* to retire.

This furniſh'd the cabal at *Rome* with a better handle againſt the dictator, and added weight to their calumnies. They trump'd up a new pretence for decrying him, from *Hannibal*'s having order'd the eſtate of *Fabius* to be ſpared, when he ſet all thoſe around it in flames. The artful *Carthaginian* had taken care to place a guard upon it, that this

favour might be look'd upon as the price of a treaty made with the dictator, contrary to the interests of *Rome*. *Fabius*, in the mean time, being call'd home to sacrifice, left the command of the army to *Minucius*, and was not satisfied with commanding him as his dictator, but advised and even entreated him as a friend, not to engage with the enemy in any manner whatever. *Minucius*, said he, *rely more on wisdom than fortune; imitate my conduct rather than that of* Sempronius *and* Flaminius, *and don't imagine that we have gain'd nothing by amusing the enemy for a whole summer together. Physicians often forward a cure more by rest than medicines. To cease to be conquer'd by an ever victorious enemy, and to recover breath after such great losses, are not small advantages.*

Hannibal was, in the mean time, encamped before the city of *Gerunculum*, which he had taken and made his magazine. *Minucius* marching safely along the tops of the mountains, came down into the plain, and encamped on a hill called *Celeta*, in the territories of *Laurinum*; watching for an opportunity of falling upon *Hannibal*'s forragers, or of attacking his camp when enfeebled by their absence. The *Carthaginian*, a few days after, having sent a third part of his army for forrage, *Minucius* with his cavalry and light-armed troops fell upon them, and pursued them with great slaughter to their camp. *Hannibal* came out of his entrenchments, repulsed and would have entirely defeated him, had not *Numerius Decimus*, one of the chiefs of the *Samnites*,

nites, arriv'd and join'd the *Romans* with 8000 foot and 500 horſe. *Hannibal* ſeeing theſe troops behind him, imagined that *Fabius* himſelf was returned with reinforcements from *Rome*, and being apprehenſive of an ambuſcade, retired. *Minucius* follow'd him, and with the aſſiſtance of *Numerius* took two fortreſſes within ſight of the enemy. Six thouſand *Carthaginians* were kill'd in this action, and near 5000 *Romans*.

This news was immediately ſent to *Rome*, and the advantage greatly magnified in the pompous phraſe of the letters, fuller of vanity than truth. *Rome* ſwam in joy, and nothing was any where talk'd of but this exploit of *Minucius*. *Fabius* alone ſaid, *That firſt reports ſhould not be ſo eaſily credited; that theſe letters look'd a little ſuſpicious; and, though all they ſaid ſhould be true, that he apprehended nothing ſo much as the good fortune of* Minucius. *Metilius*, the tribune of the people, and a near relation to *Minucius*, cried out on the contrary, *That it was intolerable in the dictator, not only to hinder the troops from embracing opportunities of performing any ſignal ſervices when he was preſent with them, but, even in his abſence, to do every thing in his power to contradict and depreciate a glorious exploit; that he ſpun out the war only to gratify his ambition, and to keep his abſolute power both at* Rome *and in the army, the longer in his hands; that he had, as it were, impriſon'd the general of the horſe, to prevent his ſeeing the enemy and performing ſome gallant action; that he had no ſooner*

left the camp, but his troops, deliver'd from their hard captivity, iſſued out of their intrenchments, and put the enemy to flight; that he ſhould boldly propoſe, if the Roman *people retain'd their ancient ſpirit, the ſtripping* Fabius *of the dictatorſhip, but would now content himſelf with a ſofter propoſition, and only deſire them to make the general of the horſe his equal, by naming him ſecond dictator.*

Livy informs us, that *Fabius*, conſcious that he wanted popularity, and that he had not temper enough to anſwer with calmneſs, was never preſent at theſe aſſemblies. He contented himſelf with ſaying in a full ſenate, *That he was going to chaſtiſe* Minucius *for his raſhneſs in fighting contrary to his orders; that he would ſoon make it appear, that it was not fortune, but good ſenſe and conduct that made a general; and that, as for his own part, he counted it a greater glory to have ſaved his army in ſuch calamitous times from all diſaſters, than to have ſlain ſeveral thouſands of the enemy in battle.*

He departed the next night, and on the road received letters informing him, that *Minucius* was created ſecond dictator. He receiv'd the news with that firmneſs of ſoul, which had ſo bravely ſupported him, under all the calumnies that had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated againſt him; well aſſured that the *Romans*, though they made *Minucius* his equal in authority, were not able to make him ſo in his ſkill and capacity for commanding armies.

When he came to the camp, he found *Minucius* full of pride and arrogance. The dictators had a con-

conference together, in which *Minucius* propoſed that they ſhould command by turns, *Fabius* one day and he another; or for any longer term that ſhould be better approv'd of. *Fabius* wiſely foreſeeing that, by ſuch an alternate power, the whole fortune of *Rome* would be in the hands of his raſh collegue, ſaid; that the army, and not the time of commanding it, ſhould be divided between them; that he might at leaſt ſave one half of it, ſince it was not in his power to ſave the whole.

Hannibal informed of every thing by his ſpies and deſerters, was exceeding glad to find one of the dictators weaken'd by the loſs of half his army, and the other given up to his own raſhneſs and folly; of which he hoped he ſhould ſoon find an opportunity of making his advantage. Such an opportunity happen'd ſooner than he could reaſonably have hoped for it.

Minucius encamped a mile and a half from *Fabius*. Between his army and that of *Hannibal* there was a little hill, which afforded a very ſafe and commodious place for encamping, and yet the poſſeſſion of it was not hard to be gain'd. The plain around it being quite naked and bare, ſeem'd, at a diſtance, to be entirely level and uniform; there were however in ſeveral parts of it gutters, hollows, and deep caverns. *Hannibal* therefore did not chuſe to ſeize upon this eminence privately, but left it as a bait to draw the enemy into an engagement.

The night after he ſaw that *Minucius* was parted from *Fabius*, he hid 500 horſe and 5000 foot in theſe

theſe caverns, and ſent the next day, in ſight of the army of the enemy, a ſmall detachment to ſeize on this poſt, in order to engage the enemy to diſpute it with him.

This ſucceeded according to his expectation. *Minucius* immediately diſpatch'd his light-armed infantry, after them his cavalry, and at laſt ſeeing *Hannibal* marching to the aſſiſtance of his troops, advanced himſelf with all his forces againſt him, and vigorouſly attack'd thoſe who were fighting on the hill. The combat was very obſtinate, and the victory a long time dubious. *Hannibal* at length ſeeing *Minucius* in the ſnare, with his back towards the troops that lay in ambuſh, gave the ſignal for them to riſe. They ſtarted up; and with loud cries charged the *Romans* on all ſides at once with ſuch fury, that they broke their hindmoſt ranks, cut them in pieces, and ſpread ſuch inexpreſſible fear and confuſion amongſt the others, that not one of them had courage enough to ſtand his ground and face the enemy, but fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

Fabius foreſeeing what would happen, had kept his legions under arms, and waited for the event of the combat, which he beheld from an eminence near his camp. As ſoon as he ſaw the extremity of the *Romans*, he marched to their aſſiſtance, ſnatch'd the victory from the enemy, and put them to flight. When *Hannibal* ſaw the fortune of the day changed, he ſounded a retreat, and led his troops back to their camp; ſaying to his friends around him, *Have I not often told you, that the black cloud on the mountains*

tains would burſt at laſt, and pour a tempeſt upon us?

Minucius, when the battle was over, aſſembled his army; and having made a handſome ſpeech, and commanded them to take up their eagles, marched towards the camp of *Fabius*, placed his enſigns before him, call'd him father, and ſaid; *I did well, my dictator, in calling you father, becauſe I could not give you a more venerable name; though my obligation to you is much greater than to my natural father. I am indebted to him only for my own life; to you I am indebted not for that only, but for thoſe alſo of all theſe valiant* Romans. *From this moment I repeal and cancel the decree of the people, which was rather a burden than an honour to me, and return to my obedicnce. I reſtore you your ſtandards and your legions, and only beſeech you to continue me the title and office of general of your horſe, and all theſe officers in the poſts they have hitherto enjoy'd.* The whole camp was fill'd with joy, and the eyes of all overflow'd with tears of love and gladneſs.

This was a noble action of *Fabius*, but that of *Minucius* not inferior to it, if not the greater of the two. We have often ſeen generals ſave defeated armies, and give the victory to the vanquiſhed; but it is very rare to ſee a proud high-ſpirited general diveſt himſelf of his partiality and ſelf-love, lay down a high command, publickly avow himſelf incapable of it, and that it is his duty to obey him whom he ſought to equal, and even exceed in power. *Fabius* ſhares his glory with his troops, but that of

Minu-

Minucius is all his own. *Fabius* conquers in a common engagement, in which there is nothing ſurprizing; *Minucius* is victorious in one that ſeems ſuperior to the force of man.

I muſt, before I proceed any farther, do juſtice to the magnanimity of the *Romans*. The *Neapolitans* ſent ambaſſadors to them, to preſent the ſenate with forty cups of gold, and to tell them that they were all ready to ſacrifice their whole fortunes for their ſervice. The ſenate refuſe their offer, accept only of one cup, and make choice of that which weigh'd the leaſt. A few days after, they ſhow'd the ſame generoſity to the ambaſſadors of *Paſtum*, who alſo offer'd them a great number of golden cups.

Paulus Emilius and *Terentius Varro* being elected conſuls, raiſed four new legions, and got together an army of 88000 fighting men. The moſt judicious and thinking men at *Rome*, believing there would be no expedient left in caſe ſo many young men, who were the choice and flower of all the *Romans*, ſhould be cut off, were greatly alarmed at theſe exceſſive levies.

New prodigies had, in the mean time, greatly dejected the *Romans*. At *Rome* and *Aricia* it rain'd a ſhower of ſtones. At *Cere* a fountain run with hot water. In the territories of the *Sabines* ſtatues ſeem'd to ſweat blood, and ſeveral perſons were kill'd with lightening near the *Campus Martius*. The books of the *Sybils* were conſulted, the prodigies expiated according to preſcription, and the conſuls prepared for

for their departure. *Varro* talk'd with great pride and preſumption. *The war*, ſays he, *which the Patricians have drawn into* Italy, *will never be driven out of it by ſuch dilatory generals as* Fabius, *but I will put an end to it on the very day that I come within ſight of the enemy.* What his collegue *Paulus Emilius* ſaid, was more prudent, but leſs agreeable to the people. *I am ſurprized*, ſays he, *how a general before he has ſeen his own army, and that of the enemy, before he has examined the nature and ſituation of places, can know what he ſhall have to do when he takes his ſword in his hand, and name the day of battle before he ſets out from* Rome. *I am perſuaded*, adds he, *that man ſhould be directed by circumſtances, for circumſtances will not be directed by man. I wiſh, with all my heart, that what we undertake with caution and prudence may have a happy event. Raſhneſs is always fooliſh, and has hitherto been unfortunate.*

It was ſufficiently plain from theſe words, that *Emilius* would prefer ſafe to raſh counſels: And *Fabius* to confirm him in his reſolution, addreſs'd him in the following manner. *Paulus Emilius, if your collegue were like you, or you like your collegue, I ſhould ſpare my ſelf the trouble of this addreſs. For two good conſuls would not want my advice, nor two bad ones condeſcend to hear it: But as I know both your character, and that of your collegue, I addreſs my ſelf to you only. You are greatly miſtaken*, Paulus Emilius, *if you imagine you are to combat againſt* Hannibal *only, you muſt combat againſt* Varro *alſo; who is, for ought I know, your moſt formidable enemy.*

You'll

You'll have nothing to do with Hannibal *but in battle, but with* Varro *at all times, and in all places. You'll fight your legions againſt* Hannibal, *but* Varro *will fight your legions againſt you. If he engages, as he threatens, upon his arrival, either I have very little ſkill in the military art, and am an abſolute ſtranger to the nature of the preſent war and the character of the enemy, or there will ſoon be a place more famous for our defeat than the lake of* Thraſymenus. *Believe me, the only ſucceſsful way of making war with* Hannibal, *is that which I have purſued. The ſame reaſons that determined me, are ſtill exiſting, and will exiſt as long as circumſtances remain the ſame. We carry on a war in* Italy, *ſurrounded by our citizens and faithful allies; who furniſh and will ever furniſh us with men, horſes and every thing we want.* Hannibal, *on the contrary, is far from home, in the country of his enemy, with the land and the ſeas againſt him. None of our cities have open'd their gates to receive him; he ſees nothing around him he can call his own; lives only from hand to mouth by robberies; and has not a third part of the troops left which he brought out of* Spain. *Can you doubt, therefore, of our vanquiſhing an enemy, who having neither money, proviſions nor recruits, waſtes away and dies daily?* Varro *and* Hannibal *have the ſame deſigns in view, and are both eager to come to an engagement;* Varro, *becauſe he does not know his own ſtrength;* and Hannibal, *becauſe he knows full well his own weakneſs. You muſt reſiſt both theſe enemies; and you'll do it with ſucceſs,*

if

if you are not ſeduced by the voice of obloquy, and are unmoved by the falſe glory of your collegue, and the loads of infamy which will be heaped upon you. Truth, though often eclipſed, is never entirely extinguiſhed, but breaks at laſt through the clouds which obſcured it. He that deſpiſes fame will certainly, one time or other, obtain true and ſubſtantial glory. Suffer them to call you a coward, a ſlothful, idle, bad commander; I had rather have you feared by a wiſe enemy, than praiſed by thoughtleſs friends. If you venture at every thing, Hannibal *will deſpiſe you; but if all your enterprizes are guided by wiſdom and prudence, he'll fear you. Not that I would have you be always idle, and do nothing; all that I mean is, that reaſon, and not fortune, ſhould direct all your actions, and all your deſigns. Be always maſter of your proceedings, always watchful of what paſſes, and always prepared for the enemy; that you may be able to improve all favourable opportunities againſt him, and give him none againſt you. When you are not over haſty, you'll ſee clearly through the whole, and be ſafe. Precipitation is always wrong.* Paulus Emilius anſwer'd, *I know not,* Fabius, *what power and influence I ſhall have with my raſh ſeditious collegue, but I will follow your advice; for I had rather have my conduct approved by you alone, than by all thoſe who would force me into other meaſures.*

Hannibal was over-joy'd when the conſuls arrived at the army; for he was reduced to extremities, having proviſions only for ten days. His *Spaniards* already

already thought of ſubmitting to the *Romans*, and he himſelf reſolved to forſake his infantry, and fly with his cavalry to *Gaul*. Fortune ſmiled on the folly and raſhneſs of *Varro* the day after his arrival, which help'd *Hannibal* out of all his difficulties. It was a cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* for each of the conſuls to command the army every other day. *Varro* no ſooner had the power, but he decamped, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his collegue, and drew near the enemy. *Hannibal* march'd to meet him with his cavalry and light-armed forces, and attack'd him very briſkly. The battle laſted 'till night, and ended to the diſadvantage of *Hannibal*; for the *Romans* had ſcatter'd light cohorts up and down amongſt their main body, which did them great ſervice, and *Hannibal*'s had no reſerve to ſupport it. The *Carthaginians* loſt 1700 men, and the *Romans* not above 200.

This ſucceſs completed the ruin of *Varro*, by heightening the good opinion he had of himſelf ſo far, as to make him look upon *Hannibal* as already conquer'd. He went and encamped on the river *Aufidus*, near the city of *Cannæ*; and the next morning, by break of day, hung out the ſign of battle. The *Carthaginians* were at firſt intimidated by the boldneſs of this new captain and the great number of his forces, which exceeded theirs by almoſt one half. But *Hannibal* commanded them to take their arms, and rode, with a few attendants, to a ſmall eminence, from whence he view'd the enemy already drawn up in order of battle. There one of

his attendants named *Giſco*, a man as nobly born as himſelf, coming up to him with an air of fear, ſaid; *That the number of the enemy ſeem'd to him very ſurprizing*. *Hannibal* contracting his brows, anſwer'd; *But there is one thing*, Giſco, *yet more ſurprizing, of which you take no notice. What is that*, ſaid *Giſco? Why*, replied *Hannibal, that amongſt ſuch a prodigious number of men there is not one whoſe name, like yours, is* Giſco. Every body ſet up a laugh; and this jeſt had a better effect than the moſt pathetic harangue. It revived the courage and confidence of the *Carthaginians*, who took it for granted, that their general would not have jeſted at the proſpect of ſuch an imminent danger, unleſs he was well aſſured that he might ſafely deſpiſe the enemy.

Varro had 80000 foot and 6000 horſe. He drew up his army, commanded the left wing himſelf, gave the right to *Paulus Emilius*, and the main body to *M. Servilius* and *Cn. Attilius*, who had been conſuls the year before.

Hannibal having paſs'd the river *Aufidus*, marſhall'd his army in form of battle, having 40000 foot and 10000 horſe. *Aſdrubal* commanded the right wing, *Hanno* the left, and he and his brother *Mago* poſted themſelves in the main body. The faces of the *Romans* were turned towards the ſouth, and thoſe of the *Carthaginians* towards the north.

Hannibal ow'd the ſucceſs of this great day to two ſtratagems which he made uſe of. The firſt was to gain the advantage of the ground, which he did by turning the back of his army to a warm wind,

which happening then to blow very hard, raiſed the burning duſt of this flat ſandy country, and carried it over his *Carthaginians* directly into the eyes of the *Romans*; who not being able to bear it, were obliged to turn their heads, and break their ranks.

His ſecond ſtratagem was in the diſpoſition of his troops; for having ranged the flower of them in the wings, he placed the moſt indifferent ones in the middle, and diſpoſed them in ſuch a manner, that his main body ended in a point or wedge, and jetted out a great way before the two wings. At the ſame time he order'd his wings to fall furiouſly on the flanks of the *Romans*, and ſurround them, as ſoon as they ſhould have broke his front, and by purſuing their advantage, have forced their way through to the center of the *Carthaginian* line. 'Twas this occaſioned the great ſlaughter of the *Romans*. For *Hannibal*'s front had no ſooner given ground, and the *Romans* broken into his main body (which from a point or wedge was now become a half moon) but the officers of the ſelect troops order'd the wings to join the two horns of the half moon together, and encloſe the *Romans*. By this means all thoſe who could not get away before they were ſhut in, were cut to pieces.

Another unforeſeen and fatal accident happen'd to the *Roman* cavalry. The horſe of *Paulus Emilius*, which had probably been wounded, threw him upon the ground. Thoſe who were near, immediately diſmounted to aſſiſt him. All the reſt of the cavalry perceiving this, and thinking there was an order for dif-

diſmounting, quitted their horſes, and fought on foot. When *Hannibal* ſaw this, he cried out; *I like them better thus than though they were tied neck and heels together.*

A third ſtratagem of *Hannibal*'s completed the deſtruction of the *Romans*. During the engagement he order'd 500 *Numidians* to go over to the *Romans*. The conſuls receiv'd them as deſerters, and ſent them into their rear. When theſe *Numidians* ſaw the *Romans* hard preſs'd on all ſides, they catch'd up arms in the field of battle, and falling on the *Romans* behind, made a terrible havock amongſt them.

Varro and a few others, eſcaped to *Venuſia*. *Paulus Emilius* born away with the impetuous torrent of the defeat, all cover'd with wounds, and pierced to the ſoul with grief, ſat down on a ſtone. His face was ſo beſmeared with blood, that his friends and domeſticks paſs'd cloſe by him without ſtopping, or knowing who he was. *Cornelius Lentulus* alone, a young man of a Patrician family, diſcovering the unhappy conſul, rode up to him, and alighting, offer'd him his horſe; earneſtly intreating him to make uſe of it, and to ſave his life for the good of his citizens, who were now in greater need than ever of ſo wiſe a commander.

Paulus Emilius refuſed his offer, and obliged him, notwithſtanding all his tears and intreaties, to mount his horſe again; and then raiſing himſelf up a little, and taking his hand; *Lentulus*, ſaid he, *you'll bear me witneſs, and tell* Fabius, *that* Paulus Emilius

follow'd his advice to the laſt; that he did in no wiſe break the promiſe he made him, but was firſt ſubdued by his collegue, and afterwards by Hannibal. Having ſpoken theſe words and diſmiſt *Lentulus*, he ruſh'd in amongſt a party of *Romans*, whom the victors were butchering in a horrible manner, and fell undiſtinguiſh'd in the croud.

Such was the event of the battle of *Cannæ*. *Hannibal*'s friends adviſed him to ſpend the remainder of the day and the following night, in reſting and refreſhing his troops; but *Maharbal* the general of his horſe, oppoſed it, and ſaid; *You ought not*, Hannibal, *to loſe a moment; if you know the value of the victory you have gain'd, we ſhall, five days hence, ſup together in the capitol. Let me march before with the cavalry, and do you follow with the reſt of the army, that the* Romans *may ſee you at their gates before they ſuſpect your deſign of marching thither. It requires time*, ſaid *Hannibal*, *to deliberate on ſo important an enterprize.* Upon which *Maharbal* made him this celebrated reply: *The Gods*, Hannibal, *don't beſtow all their gifts upon one man; you know how to gain, but not how to improve a victory.*

Hannibal the next day attack'd the two camps, which ſurrender'd ſooner than he expected. Here he took 10000 more priſoners.

Rome was, in the mean time, in the utmoſt conſternation. As the ſenate had no certain account of what had happen'd, *Fabius*, in an aſſembly, propoſed the ſending ſome horſemen to learn the truth from

the fugitives, and to diſcover what *Hannibal* was doing, and intended to do.

During theſe tranſactions, a courier arrives from *Varro* with a letter for the ſenate; in which the conſul informs them, that the army was defeated, and *Paulus Emilius* ſlain; that he himſelf was at *Venuſia*, collecting the ruins of this dreadful ſhipwreck, and had already aſſembled 10000 men; that *Hannibal* was at *Cannæ*, amuſing himſelf with gathering together his booty, and computing the ranſom of his priſoners, more like a merchant, than a conqueror and a great captain.

Every private family being now ſenſible of its loſs, the mourning throughout the city was ſo univerſal, that the annual ſacrifice to *Ceres*, which could not be perform'd by perſons in mourning, was poſtponed, becauſe there was not one woman in all the city free from it. That all the other publick and private ſacrifices might not be interrupted, it was order'd, that the mourning ſhould laſt but thirty days. As minds dejected with great calamities, conſtrue the moſt common occurrences into prodigies, the terror of *Rome* was greatly heighten'd by the fate of the two veſtals, *Opinia* and *Floronia*, who had ſuffer'd themſelves to be deflower'd. One was buried alive at the gate *Collina*, and the other killed her ſelf; and the violator of *Floronia* was ſcourged to death by the high prieſt.

The *Romans* ſent *Fabius Pictor* to conſult the oracle of *Delphi*, in order to know by what prayers and ſacrifices they might appeaſe the wrath of the

gods, and how their miſeries would end. The books of the Sybils were conſulted, and extraordinary ſacrifices perform'd by their order. A *Gallic* man and woman, and a man and woman of *Greece*, were buried alive in the beef market; where, contrary to the genius of the *Romans*, a like ſacrifice had already been offer'd up. But what crimes does not ſuperſtition induce perſons to commit, who look for relief in their calamities from every thing that is extravagant and uncommon, rather than from what is common, reaſonable, and wiſe!

There is no other people, who would not have ſunk under ſuch great misfortunes. After the loſs of four ſignal battles, and almoſt all *Italy*, what means will the *Romans* find of emerging out of ſuch an abyſs of miſeries? Magnanimity, conſtancy and prudent counſels, are the ſureſt cure for diſtemper'd eſtates. It was by the practice of theſe virtues that this people, who could hardly hope to ſave a ſmall part of their empire, not only ſav'd the whole, but became maſters alſo of all the earth. The *Romans* in this extremity retain'd a courage ſo noble, ſo invincible and ſo ſuperior to the croſſes of fortune, that no one dared ſo much as to propoſe a peace: And when *Varro* returned to *Rome* after the loſs of this fatal day, the ſenate and other orders, did him the honour to go out to meet and thank him for not having deſpair'd of the commonwealth. What a great action is this, and what may we not expect from a people who think ſo nobly? Had ſuch a misfortune happen'd to a *Carthaginian* general, no puniſh-

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ment would have been thought adequate to his crime.

Hannibal after this great victory, went out of *Apulia* into the country of the *Samnites*, and from thence into that of the *Hirpins*, where the city of *Compſa* was betray'd into his hands; and afterwards, as a ſea port was neceſſary to his deſigns, he approach'd *Naples* in order to attack it. He placed his *Numidians* in ditches and hollow ways, and order'd ſome troops loaded with booty, to go by the city. The *Neapolitans* ſeeing them march but in ſmall numbers and in diſorder, ſallied out upon them with their cavalry. Theſe *Carthaginian* troops ſuffer'd themſelves to be beaten back, in order to draw the enemy into the ambuſcade. A warm combat enſued, in which the principal *Neapolitans* were taken, or killed. *Hannibal* coming near the walls, and ſeeing they were too high to be ſtorm'd, retired, and marched towards *Capua*. Diſſention reign'd in this city: Some were for opening their gates, and others done all they could to hinder it, and even ſaid that they ought, if they did receive a *Carthaginian* garriſon, to put it to the ſword, in order to waſh away their crime of having ſo baſely abandoned their allies and relations. The worſt counſels prevailed, and *Hannibal* was received into *Capua*.

Here he was in more danger than he had ever been in before. He lodged in the houſe of *Stenius* and *Pacavius*, the principal and richeſt men of the city. *Pacavius* had a ſon named *Perolla*, who was always of the party that oppoſed *Hannibal*. He at laſt

changed ſides, and made his peace rather by his ſubmiſſions, than by juſtifying himſelf. *Hannibal* invited him to ſupper with his father *Pacavius*, *Stenius*, and *Jubellius Taureas* a man of great reputation in the army. They ſat down to ſupper by day-light. *Pacavius* riſing from table, his ſon followed him, and taking him aſide, ſaid; *I'll communicate to you a deſign I have formed, which will not only procure me a pardon for my crime, but raiſe the credit, and fortune of our nation.* The father wondering what he meant, *Perolla* throws aſide his robe, ſhows him his ſword, and ſays; *I am about to ſeal a new treaty with the* Romans *in the blood of* Hannibal, *and I thought proper to let you know it, that you may retire, if you don't chuſe to be preſent at the execution.* *Pacavius* alarmed at what he heard, ſaid; *Oh! my ſon! I conjure you by all the ties by which children are bound to parents, not to commit ſo black a murder in the preſence of your father; a murder which will expoſe you to the moſt dreadful puniſhments. It is but a few hours ſince we plighted our faith to* Hannibal *with many ſolemn oaths, of which the gods are witneſſes. And ſhall we, now we are invited to his table, lift up our hands againſt him? Can you whom he kindly entertains as his gueſt, pollute the feaſt by the murder of the hoſt? Was I able to prevail with* Hannibal *to ſpare my ſon, and ſhall I not be able to prevail with my ſon to ſpare* Hannibal? *If you are determined to deſpiſe all that is ſacred, to trample piety and religion under your feet, and attempt the blackeſt crimes;*

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muſt they needs be ſuch as will not only load us with ſhame, but involve us in deſtruction alſo? Will you, alone, venture to riſe up againſt Hannibal? *What in the mean time muſt become of all the valiant warriors and guards, that ſurround him, and keep their eyes ſtedfaſtly fixt upon him? Will your folly diſarm them, or their ſinews ſlacken with fear? Can you vainly hope for ſucceſs againſt him, whoſe very looks affright the moſt warlike armies, and make* Rome *it ſelf to tremble? But had he no other aſſiſtance, I would interpoſe, and force you to pierce my heart before you reach'd his. This is your only way to come at* Hannibal. *But I beſeech you, my ſon! in the name of all the gods, for your own ſake as well as his, give over your deſign. Let not my prayers be leſs powerful with you for* Hannibal, *than they have been with* Hannibal *for you.* As he utter'd theſe words, he ſaw the young man melt into tears, and embracing him tenderly, prevail'd with him to throw his ſword over the garden wall, and to return to the banquet.

Hannibal, the next day, being introduced into the ſenate, made a moſt obliging ſpeech, in which he thank'd the *Capuans* for having prefer'd his alliance to that of the *Romans*, and amongſt many other large promiſes, aſſured them that their city ſhould ſoon be the capital of all *Italy*, and that the *Romans*, as well as all the other people of *Italy*, ſhould own them for their lords.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *Italy*, *Mago* by his brother *Hannibal*'s order, arrives at

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Carthage, is admitted to an audience, and ſets forth *Hannibal*'s exploits in the moſt pompous expreſſions. *He has*, ſaid he, *defeated five* Roman *conſuls, one dictator, and a maſter of the horſe. He has killed* 200000 *of the enemy, taken* 50000 *priſoners, and is maſter of almoſt all* Italy, *and we ought to return thanks to the gods for ſo many victories.* At the ſame time he order'd all the rings of the *Roman* knights who had been ſlain, to be pour'd on the ground. Many authors aſſure us that there were three buſhels and a half of theſe rings; but they who write with the moſt probability, mention only one buſhel. He added, that the nearer the war was brought to a happy concluſion by *Hannibal*, the greater efforts ought to be made to aſſiſt him; that ſupplies of men, money and proviſions ought to be ſent to him; and that troops who had done ſuch ſignal ſervices, ought not to be ſuffer'd to periſh for want of ſuccours.

This diſcourſe of *Mago* filling the minds of all with hope and joy, *Himilco*, who was of *Hannibal*'s party, thought he had a favourable opportunity of mortifying *Hanno*, who was of the contrary faction, and had always oppoſed the war. He addreſs'd him therefore in this manner; *Well*, Hanno, *are you ſtill uneaſy at the war we have undertaken againſt the* Romans? *Shall we now introduce their ambaſſadors into our ſenate, obey the commands of* Rome, *deliver up* Hannibal *into the hands of his enemies, and withhold the tribute of thanks that is due to the gods? Hanno* replied; *I ſhould willingly have been*

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ſilent to day, and had no thoughts of daſhing theſe floods of joy with irkſome truths, or any of my impertinence; but ſince I am interrogated by Himilco, *think my ſelf under a neceſſity of making a reply. For ſilence would argue pride or cowardice, and I might juſtly be thought unmindful of your liberties or my own. I confeſs I have ſtill my fears about the event of this war, and ſhall never ceaſe accuſing our general, victorious as he is, 'till I ſee it finiſh'd on honourable terms. Nothing but a new peace can ſatisfy me for the breach of the old one. The news which* Mago *with ſo much oſtentation tells us, may be agreeable to* Himilco, *and other adherents of* Hannibal; *but it will not be ſo to me, unleſs we make uſe of our preſent ſucceſs to obtain an equitable peace. If we let this opportunity ſlip, when we may rather give than receive terms, I fear our exceſſive rejoicings are but vain, and ill founded. But let us examine what grounds we have for theſe overflowings of joy?* Hannibal *ſays in his letter,* I have defeated the armies of the *Romans*, ſend me more troops. *Is this the language of a conqueror? What more could he have ask'd for, had he himſelf been vanquiſhed?* I have taken two of the enemies camps, where I found a rich booty and infinite ſtores of proviſions; ſend me ſupplies of corn and money. *What would his demands have been, had he loſt his own camp? But give me leave,* Himilco *and* Mago, *to ask you a few queſtions in my turn. You ſay the conſular army was entirely defeated at the battle of* Cannæ, *and that all the nations of* Italy *have abandon'd*

don'd the Romans. *Have any of them ſubmitted to us? Of all the five and thirty tribes of which the* Romans *are compoſed, is there ſo much as one ſingle perſon gone over to* Hannibal? You don't ſay there is. *We have then but too many enemies yet upon our hands. Well; but there may, perhaps, be ſome reaſonable grounds to hope that ſome of them deſign to do it.* You know nothing of that. *It is, however, very eaſy to be known. What ambaſſadors have the* Romans *ſent to* Hannibal *to treat of peace? Have you heard that the word, peace, has been even ſo much as mention'd at* Rome? You confeſs you have not. *We are therefore as much involved in war at preſent, as we were the very day that* Hannibal *firſt ſet his foot in* Italy. *Many here remember that we were very ſucceſsful in the beginning of the firſt war, and were victors both by land and ſea, 'till the conſulſhip of* Lutatius *and* Poſthumius; *and that then we were entirely defeated at the iſland* Egates. *If fickle fortune ſhould ſhift ſides now as ſhe did then, which the gods forbid, we cannot ſurely after we are vanquiſh'd, ſo much as hope for a peace; ſince the* Romans *make us no advances, even when we are victors. If my opinion be ask'd, whether it is proper to offer or accept of peace, I am ready to give it; but if I am to confine it to the demands of* Mago, *I think a victorious army can't want ſupplies, and if it abuſes us with falſe hopes, it don't deſerve any.*

This ſpeech was receiv'd with great coldneſs. For the eyes of all were at preſent too much dazzled with joy, to ſee any thing that deny'd or leſſen'd it.

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The ſenate therefore flattering themſelves, that the war, if they exerted themſelves but ever ſo little, would ſoon end glorioufly in the abſolute deſtruction of the *Romans*, ſent *Hannibal* a ſupply of 4000 *Numidians*, 40 elephants, and conſiderable ſums of money.

The *Romans*, in the mean time, created *M. Junius* dictator, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* maſter of the horſe; who enliſting all the young men that were upwards of 17 years old, raiſed four new legions and 1000 horſe, and armed them with the weapons that had been conſecrated in the temples, or preſerved in public porticos. They purchaſed moreover 8000 ſlaves, though they might have redeem'd their priſoners at a leſs expence; but they liked ſlaves better than ſoldiers who had choſen rather to become the prey of the enemy with their arms in their hands, than to ſave themſelves by their courage.

Hannibal having aſſembled his priſoners, diſmiſſed the allies without any ranſom, and told the *Romans*; *That he did not carry on a war which could not end but by the death of his enemies; that he only fought for glory and for empire; that his forefathers had yielded to the* Roman *valour and fortune; and that he, in his turn, ſhould endeavour to make the* Romans *yield to his; that he gave them the liberty of ranſoming themſelves; that a horſeman ſhould pay* 500 *drachmas, a foot ſoldier* 300, *and a ſlave* 100. He gave them leave to chuſe ten men from amongſt themſelves to ſend to the ſenate, required no other ſecu-

ſecurity for their return but their own oaths, and ſent a *Carthaginian* officer, named *Carthalo*, along with them.

When theſe ten priſoners were gone out of the camp, one of them, unworthy of the name of a *Roman*, returned under a pretence of having forgotten ſomething, in order to diſingage himſelf from his oath, and overtook his companions again before night. When it was known at *Rome* that they were on the road, the dictator ſent a lictor to meet and order *Carthalo*, to depart before night out of the territories of *Rome*. The ſenate gave the priſoners audience, but were divided in their opinions. At laſt that of *F. Manlius Torquatus* prevailing, the ſenate told the captives that they would not redeem them, and ſent them back again to *Hannibal*. He who had returned to the camp, thinking himſelf freed from his oath by his fraud, went home to his own houſe. The trick was diſcover'd, and laid before the ſenate, who unanimouſly order'd him to be apprehended, and ſent back again to the *Carthaginian* camp.

To reſume the thread of our hiſtory. *Hannibal* being maſter of *Capua*, went to *Nola*. He did not immediately commit any act of hoſtility, becauſe he hoped it would voluntarily ſurrender it ſelf. And the people, indeed, fearing their territories would be laid waſte, and having no hopes of relief, were inclined to open their gates. The ſenate finding it difficult to reſiſt the multitude, pretended to come into their views, and to be ready to go over to *Hannibal*;

nibal; but ſaid, that before they renounced their antient alliance with the *Romans*, they ought to know what terms *Hannibal* would impoſe upon them. By this means they gain'd time, and ſent privately to *Marcellus*, who was at *Caſilinum*, to tell him the condition they were in, and how impoſſible it was to retain the people in their duty, unleſs they were immediately relieved. *Marcellus* after having commended the ſenate, and ordered them to ſpin out the time 'till his arrival, departs from *Caſilinum*, croſſes the *Vulturnus*, and approaches *Nola*. *Hannibal* retires, marches towards the *Mare Inferum*, and comes to *Naples*, once more to endeavour to get poſſeſſion of that city; which being a ſea-port was convenient for landing the recruits he expected from *Africa*. But finding the *Neapolitans* had called *M. Junius Silanus* to their aſſiſtance, and refuſed to ſurrender, he went to *Nuceria*, took it by famine, burnt it, and returned again to *Nola*.

There was in this city a young man named *L. Bandius*, of noble extraction and great bravery. After the battle of *Cannæ* he was found all cover'd with wounds in the midſt of a heap of dead bodies. *Hannibal* order'd his wounds to be cured, and then ſent him home loaded with preſents. This young man to ſhow his gratitude to the *Carthaginian*, ſought for an opportunity of delivering the town into his hands. *Marcellus* being inform'd of his deſign, knewn he muſt either puniſh, or win him over. He choſe the latter; and having ſent for him, ſaid; *You muſt certainly be greatly envied*, Ban-

Bandius, *ſince none of your fellow citizens have told me of the great actions you have performed. But when a brave man has born arms in a* Roman *camp, his valour can't be concealed. Several officers with whom you have ſerved, have informed me of your worth, and the great dangers to which you have expoſed your ſelf for the ſafety and glory of* Rome. *They tell me that at the battle of* Cannæ, *you did not give over fighting, 'till oppreſſed with numbers, you fell lifeleſs on a heap of dead bodies. Encreaſe, if poſſible, your courage, and you ſhall always find me ready to load you with honours and preſents. The more frequent you are in viſiting me, the more you'll be convinced of the glory and advantage that wait on your zeal.* He made him, at the ſame time, a preſent of a fine war horſe and 500 drachmas, and order'd his lictors to admit him to his preſence whenever he deſired it. This generoſity ſo effectually won the heart of *Bandius*, that the *Romans* had no ally who ſerved them afterwards, with greater faithfulneſs and zeal.

Nola ſeeing *Hannibal* at her gates, was now more than ever inclined to revolt. *Marcellus* and his army being in the town, and *Hannibal* before it with his, there were frequent ſkirmiſhes between them with different ſucceſs. *Marcellus* was informed by *Bandius*, that the inhabitants of *Nola* having for ſome time had conferences every night with the *Carthaginians*, deſigned, as ſoon as he march'd out againſt the enemy, to plunder his baggage, ſhut the gates againſt him, and receive *Hannibal* into the town. The conſul upon hearing this, made all the haſte he could

could to come to an engagement. He drew up his troops in the town at the three gates that looked towards the camp of the enemy, placed his baggage in the rear, and order'd, by the ſound of trumpet, that none of the inhabitants ſhould appear upon the walls. This deceived *Hannibal*; for ſeeing the walls deſerted, he did not doubt but that there were great commotions in the town. He marched up to it therefore with much confidence, but with little precaution or order. *Marcellus* at the ſame time orders the gate, that was directly before him, to be opened; and iſſuing out with the prime of his cavalry, charges the front of the enemy, and breaks their ranks. The very next moment, a ſecond gate is open'd, through which the infantry pour forth with loud ſhouts and huzzas: And whilſt *Hannibal* endeavours to divide his troops to make head againſt theſe, all the reſt of the *Roman* forces being let out of the third gate, fall furiouſly upon the *Carthaginians*; who were greatly alarmed at this unexpected ſally, and made but a poor defence againſt thoſe who had iſſued out of the firſt gate, by reaſon of their being charged very briſkly by thoſe that came out at the ſecond. It was in this action, in which *Hannibal*'s troops were beaten back to their camp with great loſs and conſternation, that the *Carthaginians* firſt fled before the *Romans*. *Hannibal* is ſaid to have loſt upwards of 5000 men in this engagement, and *Marcellus* not more than 500.

The *Carthaginian* deſpairing of becoming maſter of *Nola*, marches to *Acerræ*, and after having in

vain tried to prevail with it to open its gates, lays ſiege to it. The inhabitants, who had more courage than ſtrength, forſake it by night; and *Hannibal* after having pillaged and burnt it, leads his army towards *Caſilinum*. He ſends his *Getulians* before under the command of an officer, named *Iſalca*; who as ſoon as he came to the town, endeavour'd to force the gates. The garriſon, at the ſame inſtant, makes a vigorous ſally, and kills many of its enemies. *Maharbal* comes to the aſſiſtance of *Iſalca* with a large body of troops, and is alſo repulſed. *Hannibal* encamps before the town, and beſieges it in form. He makes galleries of hurdles, and digs mines; and the beſieged do every thing that art directs, to fruſtrate his attacks. They defend themſelves againſt his galleries by works which they oppoſe to them, and againſt his mines by countermines. The *Carthaginian* aſhamed of their long reſiſtance, leaves ſome troops to block up the town, and goes into winter quarters at *Capua*. His abode here was fatal, and ſhows us that *Homer* was very ſenſible of the dangers of voluptuouſneſs. He makes *Minerva* tell *Diomed*,

——— *From mortal miſts I purge thine eyes,*
And ſet to view the warring Deities.
Theſe ſee thou ſhun, thro' all th' embattled plain,
Nor raſhly ſtrive where human force is vain.
If Venus *mingles in the martial band,*
Her ſhalt thou wound ———

POPE's Iliad, Book V. Ver. 164.

The

The *Carthaginians* whom all the evils and toils of war could not vanquiſh, were vanquiſhed by the voluptuouſneſs and pleaſures of *Capua*. There was nothing during the whole winter but feaſtings, bathings, exceſſes with women and enervating idleneſs, which cuſtom made daily more and more agreeable, and conſequently more invincible. The moſt ſkilful in the art of war, think this laſt error of *Hannibal* greater than his firſt, in not marching directly to *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. For his firſt error might only have retarded his victory, whereas the laſt entirely exhauſted his ſtrength and vigour, and put it out of his power to conquer. In the beginning of the ſpring when he left *Capua*, one would hardly have thought that his army had been the ſame. No ſhadow of their antient diſcipline remain'd, and the ſoldiers had not ſtrength nor courage to undergo the hardſhips of encampments and war. Moſt of them ſo much regretted the pleaſures of *Capua*, that they forſook their colours, and return'd thither to enjoy the company of the miſtreſſes they had left behind them. It is reported that *Hannibal* on this occaſion ſaid, that he had hitherto had an army of men, but that he now had only an army of women.

Caſilinum was, in the mean time, reduced to extreme want by the blocade. *Gracchus* who was encamped with a body of troops in the neighbourhood, whilſt the dictator was gone to *Rome* to conſult the auſpices, heard daily that the inhabitants unable to bear the famine, threw themſelves down from the tops of their houſes, or expoſed their naked bodies

on the walls to the arrows of the beſiegers. He was the more afflicted with their diſtreſs, becauſe it was not in his power to relieve them. For he could not ſend proviſions into the town publickly without coming to an engagement, and the dictator had expreſly order'd him not to fight; and all the avenues were ſo carefully guarded, that he could not ſend in any by ſtealth. At laſt he found out this expedient. He fill'd ſeveral caſks with corn; and having adviſed the *Caſilinians* of his deſign, threw them in the night into the river, which convey'd them ſafely into the town before the morning. He repeated this the next day and the day after, with the ſame ſucceſs. But the river on the third day being ſwell'd with rains, overflow'd, and the current carrying ſome of the caſks over the banks, the enemy found them amongſt the reeds and the willows. This was related to *Hannibal*, who order'd the beſiegers to watch with more diligence, and to take care that the *Vulturnus* brought no relief to the beſieged. The *Romans* were not diſcouraged, but threw a great quantity of nuts into the river, which ſwam down with the ſtream into the town, and were fiſh'd out of it by the inhabitants with hurdles. But their famine at laſt became ſo great, that they boiled leather and the coverings of their bucklers for food, and eat rats and all the moſt noxious animals, and the roots and herbs which they found at the bottoms of old walls, and ruin'd buildings. As the *Carthaginians* had till'd all the arable ground about the city, the beſieged ſow'd turnips upon it. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, ſaid;

ſaid; *Shall I then be obliged to ſtay here till their turnips are ripe?* This inclined him to hearken to terms, and it was agreed, that the *Caſilinians* ſhould ſurrender up the town, and redeem their priſoners at the rate of ſeven ounces of gold for every freeman. *Hannibal* left a garriſon of 700 men in the city to defend it, in caſe the *Romans*, after his army was drawn off, ſhould come and attack it.

From thence he went and attack'd *Petelia*, which ſent deputies to aſk aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. The ſenate told them that they were not able to aſſiſt allies at ſuch a diſtance, and that they muſt return and do what they themſelves thought moſt expedient for their ſafety. Theſe unhappy wretches, o'erwhelm'd with grief, choſe to defend themſelves. They reſiſted for ſome months, but at laſt weaken'd more by famine than the ſword of the enemy, were taken by aſſault by *Himilco*, who commanded at the ſiege. *Hannibal* being thus become maſter of *Petelia*, went and attack'd *Conſentia*, which ſurrender'd in a few days.

During theſe tranſactions, *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius* II. ſent ambaſſadors to *Hannibal* to make an alliance with him. Theſe ambaſſadors ſhun'd the ports of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*, where the *Romans* had fleets of ſhips, and landed at *Cape Lacinium*, ſix miles from *Crotona*. But as they were going through *Apulia* in their way to *Capua*, they fell in amongſt the *Roman* garriſons, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levinus* the pretor, who was encamped near *Nuceria*. Here *Xenophanes*,

the chief of the embaſſy, with a perfidy more like a *Carthaginian* than a *Macedonian* ambaſſador, ſaid boldly; *That he was ſent by* Philip *to negotiate an alliance with the* Romans, *and to make them an offer of all his forces; but that his inſtructions were to be communicated only to the ſenate and the people.* *Levinus* overjoy'd with the alliance of ſo powerful a prince, ſent a guard along with him to ſhow him the ſafeſt roads, and to inform him what towns the *Romans* were maſters of, and what were in the hands of the *Carthaginians*. *Xenophanes* paſſing through *Campania* in the midſt of the *Roman* garriſons, no ſooner found himſelf near *Hannibal*'s camp, but he went to it, and concluded a treaty with him; the ſubſtance of which was; *That* Philip *ſhould ſend a fleet of at leaſt* 200 *ſail of ſhips to harraſs the coaſts; that when the war was ended,* Rome *and* Italy *with all the booty thereof, ſhould become the prey of* Hannibal; *that after the reduction of* Italy, *he ſhould ſail to* Greece, *and make war againſt ſuch kings as* Philip *thought proper; and, that all the cities of the continent, and the iſlands that lay commodious for the* Macedonians, *ſhould fall to the ſhare of this prince.*

Hannibal, after the ſigning of this treaty, ſent ambaſſadors to *Philip* to ratify it; who embarked at *Lacinium*, on board the ſhip that brought over the *Macedonians*. But being in their courſe obſerved by a *Roman* fleet which guarded the coaſts of *Calabria*, *Valerius Flaccus* the admiral, ſent ſome light veſſels in purſuit of them. Their ſhip crouded all the

the ſail it could, but not being able to eſcape, ſurrender'd. *Xenophanes* not at all daunted, perſiſted in his lye, and ſaid that he was ſent by *Philip* to the *Romans*; that he arrived very ſafe at the camp of *Levinus*, but that the garriſons of the enemy hinder'd him from going farther than *Campania*. But their *Carthaginian* habits giving grounds for ſuſpicion, and the ambaſſadors themſelves contradicting one another in their anſwers, they were kept apart, and forced at laſt by menaces, to confeſs the truth. The letters written by *Hannibal* to *Philip*, and the league he had concluded with him being found upon them, it was judged proper to ſend them to the ſenate and conſuls. They were put on board five different veſſels commanded by *Valerius Antias*, who was ſtrictly charged not to let them have any communication one with another.

The people of *Campania*, in the mean time, who were in *Hannibal*'s intereſt, undertook to make themſelves maſters of *Cumæ*, and deliver it up to him; but not being able to effect it by force, they had recourſe to ſtratagem. It was their cuſtom to offer up an annual ſacrifice at *Hamæ*, which is three miles from *Cumæ*. The ſenate of *Campania*, ſome days before the feſtival, ſent the *Cumans* word, that they would on ſuch a day be at *Hamæ*, in order to celebrate their ſacrifices as uſual, and deſired the ſenate of *Cumæ* to meet them there, that they might have an opportunity of conſulting together about the ſteps that were proper to be taken, in the preſent poſture of affairs. The *Cumans* ſuſpected the fraud, but as

they hoped to make an advantage of it, accepted of the invitation. They ſent deputies immediately to *Sempronius Gracchus* the conſul, to inform him of what had paſt, and to tell him, that the feſtival would be held in three days, and that the ſenate of *Campania* would be at *Hamæ* with ſome of their troops.

Sempronius to make his advantage of this information, order'd the *Cumans* to carry every thing that was valuable into the city, and to ſhut themſelves up within their walls; and march'd his army, on the eve of the feſtival, into the neighbourhood of *Cumæ*. The aſſembly was already met at *Hamæ*; and *Marius Alfius*, its chief magiſtrate, who was encamped near it with a body of 14000 men, was much buſier about preparing the ſacrifices and contriving to make his ſcheme ſucceſsful, than about fortifying and ſecuring his camp from the danger of a ſurprize. Victims were offer'd up for three days together at *Hamæ*; and, on the laſt day, the feſtival was to be continued good part of the night in honour of the gods. *Sempronius* thinking this the propereſt time for the execution of his deſign, order'd his troops to refreſh themſelves at four of the clock in the afternoon, and to repoſe themſelves 'till the evening. In the firſt watch of the night he began his march, and came to *Hamæ* about midnight; and as almoſt all the Campanians were gone to aſſiſt at this religious ſervice, found their camp negligently guarded, enter'd it at all the gates, ſurprized ſome aſleep, and others returning unarmed from the ſolemnity; kill'd above 2000 men, with *Ma-*

rius Alfius their general, without looſing above 100 of his own troops; took 34 enſigns, and return'd the ſame night to *Cumæ* for fear of *Hannibal*, who was encamped upon mount *Tifata* near *Capua*.

And *Hannibal*, indeed, no ſooner heard of this diſaſter, but he ſet out for *Hamæ*; hoping to ſurprize this victorious army, which conſiſted only of new liſted ſoldiers and ſlaves, buſy in ſtripping the ſlain and gathering together their booty. But he was deceived, and found nothing in the camp but the bodies of the dead. Moſt of his officers preſſed him to go and attack *Cumæ* immediately; but as his ſoldiers had brought nothing with them but their arms, he went back to his camp; and, the next day, moved by the intreaties of the people of *Campania*, returned in order to beſiege that city. After having ravaged all the country round about it, he encamped within a mile of its walls. *Sempronius* did all he could to defend the town. *Hannibal* batter'd it from a high tower which he built for that purpoſe; but the *Romans* built a higher on the walls, and ſetting that of the *Carthaginians* on fire, obliged thoſe who were defending it, to leap down in order to eſcape the flames. *Sempronius* taking the opportunity of this confuſion, ſallied out of two gates, routed the enemy, and beat them back to their camp in ſuch a manner, that *Hannibal* was rather beſieged than beſieging. Thirteen hundred *Carthaginians* were kill'd in this action, and 59 taken priſoners; and before *Hannibal*'s troops recover'd

ver'd from their fright, *Sempronius* ſounded a retreat, and retired to the town.

The *Carthaginian* hoping that this ſucceſs would encourage the conſul to come to an engagement, preſented himſelf in order of battle before the walls of the town; but finding that no body came out againſt him, and that *Sempronius* was not raſh enough to run any riſks, he retired to *Capua*.

During theſe tranſactions, the five ſhips, which were carrying the *Macedonian* and *Carthaginian* ambaſſadors to *Rome*, coming before *Cumæ*, *Sempronius* order'd ſome veſſels to ſtand out to ſea, and bring him intelligence whether they were friends, or enemies. When the captains of theſe ſhips heard that the conſul was at *Cumæ*, they went on ſhore there, in order to deliver up their priſoners to him. *Sempronius* having read the letters of *Philip* and *Hannibal*, ſent them to *Rome* by land, and order'd the priſoners to be convey'd thither by ſea. The ſenate was greatly alarm'd at theſe letters, and the treaty betwixt *Philip* and *Hannibal*; for they found by them that they were about to have the *Macedonians* alſo to deal with, at a time when they were hardly able to cope with the *Carthaginians* alone. Their courage ſupported them in this conjuncture: They diſpatch'd all orders and took all ſteps that were neceſſary, to hinder *Philip* from going out of his own dominions.

Fabius Maximus paſſes the *Vulturnus*, retakes ſome towns which had fallen off from their allegiance to the *Romans*, encamps on mount *Veſuvius*, between

between *Capua* and *Hannibal*, and ſends *Marcellus* to ſecure *Nola*, which only wanted an opportunity to ſurrender it ſelf to the *Carthaginian*. From hence the pro-conſul made daily inroads into the territories of the *Hirpins* and the *Samnites*, and deſtroy'd them with fire and ſword. The *Samnites* ſent deputies to *Hannibal*, to tell him the circumſtances they were in, and how ſhameful it was in him, who had won ſo many battles, to ſuffer his allies to periſh, when he might preſerve them by only ſending a party of his *Numidians* to ſecure them from the inſults of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* told the deputies, *That he would march his army into the territories of the* Roman *allies, and deliver them by drawing the enemy after him:* Adding, *That he would ſoon take care, as the battle of* Thraſymenus *had been obſcured by that of* Cannæ, *that the laſt ſhould be eclipſed by a more glaring victory.* The next day, leaving ſome troops to guard his camp, he marches with the reſt of his army to *Nola*. Here he was join'd by *Hanno*, who brought him the recruits and the elephants, that had been ſent him from *Africa*. At firſt he endeavour'd to ſhake the fidelity of *Nola* by a negotiation; but not ſucceeding, he ſurrounded the town, as though he deſign'd to make a general aſſault. *Marcellus* made a furious ſally, and routed all that dared make head againſt him, 'till a violent ſtorm interven'd and put an end to the combat.

Two days after, *Hannibal* ſent out part of his army to forage in the neighbourhood. *Marcellus* laying hold of this opportunity, iſſues out at the head

of

of his troops, and attacks *Hannibal*, who came out of his camp to meet him, with great briſkneſs and fury. After a ſharp combat, the *Carthaginians* were beaten. *Marcellus* kill'd upwards of 5000 men and four elephants, took 600 priſoners, 18 enſigns and two elephants, without loſing 1000 of his own men. After this engagement, 1300 *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* horſe deſerted *Hannibal*, and were ever afterwards faithful to the *Romans*.

Hannibal after this ſhock, ſent *Hanno*, with the troops he had brought along with him, into the country of the *Bruttians*, went to winter in *Apulia*, and encamped near *Arpi*. Divers engagements happen'd here during the winter. Moved by the earneſt entreaties of the people of *Campania* to come to *Capua*, which the *Romans* threaten'd to attack, the *Carthaginian* left his camp at *Arpi*, and went to his old one at *Tifata* near *Capua*. From thence he deſcended to the lake *Avernus*, under pretence of ſacrificing there, but in reality to endeavour to win over the *Puteoli* to his intereſt.

Whilſt he was here, five young men of the nobleſt families of *Tarentum*, whom *Hannibal* had taken at the battles of *Thraſymenus* and *Cannæ*, and diſmiſs'd without any ranſom, arrived at his camp. Theſe young men having, out of gratitude, prevailed on moſt of the youth of their city to prefer an alliance with the *Carthaginians* to that of the *Romans*, told *Hannibal*, that they came, in behalf of the reſt, to entreat him to march to *Tarentum*, and to aſſure him, that the town, as ſoon as he appeared

peared before it, would open its gates to receive him. *Hannibal* paſſionately deſired to become maſter of *Tarentum*, a powerful, rich and maritime city; which, as *Brunduſium* was in the hands of the *Romans*, would afford a ſafe port to *Philip*, in caſe he ſhould come into *Italy*. The *Carthaginian* having finiſhed the ſacrifice he was performing, laid waſte all the eſtates of *Cumæ* as far as the cape of *Miſena*, and endeavour'd to ſurprize *Puteoli*. But this town was well fortified both by art and nature, and had a garriſon of 6000 men. *Hannibal* having ſpent three days to no purpoſe in tampering with *Puteoli*, went to *Nola* to make his advantage of the diſpoſition of the people, who were intirely in his intereſt. But *Marcellus* prevented the effects of this diſpoſition, by ſending 6000 foot and 300 horſe into the town.

The conſul *Fabius*, in the mean time, draws near to *Caſilinum*, where there was a *Carthaginian* garriſon, to endeavour to take it by ſurprize. *Hanno*, at the ſame time, comes from the country of the *Bruttians*, with a large body of infantry and cavalry, in order to make himſelf maſter of *Beneventum*; but *Tiberius Gracchus* gets there before him, enters the town, and is inform'd that *Hanno* was encamped three miles from thence, on the river *Calor*. Upon this he leaves *Beneventum*, comes within a mile of the *Carthaginians*, aſſembles and harangues his troops, and promiſes liberty to every one who ſhould bring him the head of an enemy. This promiſe, by which he thought to inſure the victory, had like to have deprived

prived him of it; for the ſoldiers having made a great ſlaughter, gave over fighting, and buſied themſelves in cutting off the heads of the *Carthaginians*. *Gracchus* being inform'd of this by the tribunes, order'd that the heads ſhould be thrown away, the battle continued, and that none ſhould hope for liberty, unleſs the enemy ſhould that day be defeated, and put to flight. This ſo enflamed the courage of his ſoldiers, that they made a prodigious ſlaughter of the *Carthaginians*, drove them back to their camp, and enter'd it along with them. The combat was renew'd with freſh fury, and became more bloody in the trenches. Of all *Hanno*'s army, not 2000 Men eſcaped; and moſt of thoſe were horſe, that fled with their general. All the reſt were either kill'd, or taken priſoners, with 38 ſtandards. *Gracchus* did not loſe above 2000 of his troops. He gave all his ſoldiers, without diſtinction, their freedom; but puniſhed 4000 of them, who had fail'd in their duty. But not to tarniſh ſo glorious a day by too great ſeverity, he only order'd, that in all their campaigns they ſhould eat their meals ſtanding, unleſs in caſe of ſickneſs. The victorious troops retired, loaded with booty, to *Beneventum*; dancing and rejoicing in ſuch a manner, that one would rather have thought them returning from a feaſt, than a battle.

Hannibal, in the mean time, having plunder'd the territories of *Naples*, drew near to *Nola*. *Marcellus*, on his approach, recall'd *Pomponius*, who was with a body of troops at *Sueſſula*, and prepared

to

to meet the enemy. With this view he ordered *Claudius Nero* to go with his cavalry, in the night time, out of the gate, oppoſite to that towards which *Hannibal* was coming; to take a large circuit, march after *Hannibal*, and fall upon his rear as ſoon as he ſaw the two armies thoroughly engaged. It is uncertain whether *Nero* loſt himſelf in the night, or had not time enough to execute his orders; but had he arrived at the time appointed, the *Carthaginians* had been entirely defeated.

Marcellus, alone, had already beaten *Hannibal*; but not having a ſufficient number of cavalry to purſue him, he ſounded a retreat. The *Carthaginians* loſt above 2000 men, and the *Romans* only 400. *Nero* having fatigued his troops to no purpoſe, returned in the evening to *Nola*, without having ſo much as ſeen the enemy. *Marcellus* reprimanded him very ſeverely. *It is your fault only*, ſaid he, *that this day is not as fatal to* Hannibal, *as that of* Cannæ *was to the* Romans. The next morning, the conſul offer'd the *Carthaginians* battle again; but *Hannibal* kept in his trenches, avowing thereby his defeat; and two days after, deſpairing of making himſelf maſter of *Nola*, decamped in the night, and march'd towards *Tarentum*, where his correſpondents promiſed him better ſucceſs. He pitch'd his tents within a mile of the town; and having waited ſome days without ſeeing any thing they had made him hope for, performed, he decamped and went to *Salapia*. He ſtored this city with all ſorts of proviſions, as a place where he might have commodious

modious winter quarters without being far from *Tarentum*; which would he hoped, at laſt, open its gates and receive him.

His hopes were not vain; for thirteen young men of the nobleſt families, at the head of whom were *Nico* and *Philemenus*, undertook to deliver it into his hands. The plot was managed in the following manner. The conſpirators deſirous of having a conference with *Hannibal* before they enter'd upon their undertaking, went out of the town in the night, as they were great ſportſmen, under the pretence of hunting. When they were near *Hannibal*'s camp, they hid themſelves in the woods. *Nico* and *Philemenus* approaching the advanced-guards, were taken and carried before *Hannibal*; who, after they had inform'd him of their deſign, made them large promiſes, and ſent them back to *Tarentum*: And that they might the more eaſily gain the confidence of their Citizens, ſuffer'd them to drive away ſome flocks of ſheep that were feeding at ſome diſtance from his camp. The *Tarentines* overjoy'd with this booty, which was abundantly ſufficient both for their ſacrifices and feaſtings, commended the young men, and ſuffer'd them frequently to go out of the town without the leaſt ſuſpicion. The conſpirators repeated theſe hunting matches for ſeveral days together, always returned loaded with booty and game, and never forgot to preſent part of it to the governor and the officers at the gate. In one of theſe excurſions they concluded their treaty with *Hannibal*. The conditions of it were, *That*

the

the Tarentines *ſhould remain free, retain their laws and their privileges, be ſubject to no tribute, nor receive a garriſon without their own conſent.*

When *Philemenus* had ſo effectually gain'd the confidence of the guards at the gates, that they let him in, at all hours, at the firſt ſound of a whiſtle; *Hannibal* thought it was time to put his deſign in execution. He pick'd out 10000 of the moſt reſolute and active fellows in his whole army, order'd them to take proviſions for four days, began his march at the fourth watch of the night, and encamped within 15 miles of *Tarentum*. It was agreed, that whilſt *Hannibal* went and got poſſeſſion of the gate *Temenides*, *Philemenus* ſhould come to the other gate, at which he uſed to enter. This was executed accordingly: For at the cloſe of the day *Hannibal* begins his march, and arrives at midnight, with the utmoſt ſilence, at the gate *Temenides*. *Nico*, who ſtay'd in the town with the other conſpirators, comes to this gate, finds the guards aſleep, murders them, and opens it. *Hannibal* enters with his infantry, leaving his horſe, which were 2000 in number, without the gate, that they might be ready to aſſiſt him if any enemy ſhould appear, or any accident happen, which had not been foreſeen. *Philemenus*, follow'd by 2000 *Africans*, comes to the other gate with a large boar, with which *Hannibal* had furniſhed him. The ſentinel, at the firſt ſignal, opens the little gate. *Philemenus*, and another active hunter, who held one end of the hand-barrow on which the boar lay, and two

other young men who had hold of the other end of it, enter the town. Whilſt the ſoldier admires the prodigious ſize of the boar, *Philemenus* runs him through with his ſpear. Thirty of the foremoſt *Africans* ruſh into the town, and open the great gate. The troops who follow'd them, croud in at the ſame time, and go and join *Hannibal*, who had drawn up his infantry in the market place.

The next day, *Hannibal*, by the ſound of a trumpet, order'd all the *Tarentines* to aſſemble themſelves unarm'd, in the market place. There he made a ſpeech, which was applauded by the whole aſſembly; commanding every one of them to retire to their own houſes, and write, *Tarentines*, upon their doors; and forbidding them, under pain of death, to write that word on the doors of any houſes of the *Romans*.

The city being taken in this manner, *C. Livius* the *Roman* Governor, and all the *Tarentines* who follow'd his party, retired to the citadel, which was well fortified. *Hannibal* to ſecure the city againſt the *Roman* garriſon, dug a great ditch before the citadel, and defended it with a rampart and paliſſades. The *Romans* made a furious ſally on the workmen, and a hot combat enſuing, loſt a great number of men.

Hannibal having fortified the city, left a ſtrong garriſon in it, and encamped five Miles from it on the river *Galeſus*, which moſt authors call *Eurotas*, from the name of a river of *Lacedæmon*: For the *Tarentines* being a colony of *Lacedæmonians*, retained

ed many of their native terms, and gave them to different parts of their country.

Whilſt *Hannibal* was preparing to beſiege the citadel, the *Roman* garriſon received a great ſupply of forces from *Metapontus* by ſea, which made the *Carthaginians* deſpair of becoming maſters of the citadel by force, and ſo elevated the courage of the *Romans*, that they made a ſally the very ſame night, and burnt the works of the enemy.

Hannibal aſſembled the chief citizens of *Tarentum*, and told them; *That he ſaw no way of forcing the citadel, whilſt their enemies were maſters of the ſea; but that he ſhou'd ſoon reduce them, if he had ſhips to intercept their convoys and all other aſſiſtances, either to retire, or ſurrender.* The *Tarentines* were of the ſame opinion, and ſaid; *That he could not hope for any ſhips unleſs he ſent for the fleet which was in* Sicily, *or found out ſome method to get their ſhips out to ſea, which was impoſſible; ſince the citadel, which commanded the mouth of the harbour, was in the hands of the enemy.*

Hannibal replied, *What Nature ſeems to have made impoſſible, often becomes eaſy by art and contrivance. Your city is luckily ſituated on a plain, and has large ſtreets that go quite through it. There is one of them very broad, which runs through the market place, and reaches quite from the port to the ſea. I'll cauſe your ſhips to be convey'd by carriages to the ſouth ſide of your city, and make you maſters of the ſea without much trouble.*

The *Tarentines* admired his invention, and thought nothing impoſſible to his contrivance and courage. The carriages and neceſſary machines were prepared, and the ſhips, in a few days, making the tour of the citadel, rode at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, and deprived the beſieged of all hopes of relief. *Hannibal* having again ſtrengthen'd the garriſon of the city, retired with the reſt of his troops to his camp, where he paſſed the winter in peace.

The two conſuls, *Fulvius Flaccus* and *Appius Pulcher*, were, in the mean time, in the country of the *Samnites*, making preparations to beſiege *Capua*. The *Capuans* already pinch'd with famine, ſent deputies to *Hannibal* to entreat him to ſend them corn before the conſuls arrived with their legions, and all the ways were poſſeſſed by the troops of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* order'd *Hanno* to go from the country of the *Bruttians* into *Campania*, and to ſend convoys, under ſufficient guards, to *Capua*. *Hanno* prepares for the execution of this order. The conſuls being adviſed of it, *Fulvius* comes in the night to *Beneventum*, where he hears that *Hanno* was gone with a great part of his forces, to get together the corn that had been laid up in the ſummer, and that he had already provided 2000 waggons for the convoy. Upon which, ordering his ſoldiers to get themſelves ready againſt the next night, he departs at the fourth watch, leaving all his baggage at *Beneventum*; and arriving before the break of day at the camp of the *Carthaginians*, attacks it with great fury. The

Cartha-

Carthaginians make ſo vigorous a defence that the conſul was about to retire; but *Vibius*, who commanded a cohort of the *Peligni*, ſnatching the ſtandard from his enſign, threw it into the camp with horrible execrations againſt himſelf and his troop, if they ſuffer'd it to remain in the hands of the enemy; and leap'd, at the ſame time, into their trenches. At another part *T. Pedanius* the chief centurion, having alſo taken his ſtandard from its bearer, ſaid; *This ſtandard and the centurion will ſoon be in the camp: Let thoſe who will, follow, and hinder the enemy from being maſters of it*; then throwing it into the entrenchments, leaps over the ditch and paliſſades. His company, and after them the whole legion, follow his example. This raiſed ſuch an emulation amongſt the ſoldiers, and was ſuch a ſpur to their courage, that they fell in crouds on the entrenchments, and forced them. Great numbers were wounded in this attack; but their wounds only exaſperated them the more. They who were quite faint through loſs of blood, made new efforts that they might, at leaſt, die in the trenches. The camp being forced in this manner, it was no longer a combat, but a horrible butchery. The *Romans* kill'd upwards of 6000 men; took above 7000 priſoners, all the forrage, waggons and beaſts of burden; and carried off a very great booty.

The *Capuans* hearing the news of this defeat the ſame day, ſent new deputies to *Hannibal* to tell him, that the two conſuls were at *Beneventum*, within a day's journey of *Capua*; that war was at their

gates; and that they muſt, unleſs immediately relieved, fall into the hands of the *Romans*. *Hannibal* replied, that he would provide for their ſafety, and ſent 2000 horſe along with the deputies, that the *Capuans* by this aſſiſtance might be enabled to prevent the plunder of their country.

The two conſuls being perſuaded, if they took ſo rich a city as *Capua*, that they ſhould make their conſulate famous, and wipe off the diſgrace which ſullied the *Roman* name for having left its revolt unpuniſh'd for three years together, reſolve to beſiege it. But before they ſet out from *Beneventum*, ſend for *Sempronius Gracchus* thither, ordering him to appoint a commander over the legions he ſhould leave in *Lucania*, and to bring the cavalry and light armed forces along with him; that he might, with this body of troops, be ready to oppoſe *Hannibal*, in caſe he attempted to relieve *Capua*, as they did not at all doubt but he would. The fate of this proconſul, and the ſigns which foretold it, deſerve to be related. As he was ſacrificing before he left *Lucania*, two ſerpents glided privately to the victim, and devour'd its liver. The Aruſpices aſtoniſhed at this prodigy, order'd him to begin the ſolemnity again. The ſecond victim was no ſooner offer'd up, but the two ſerpents returned, and eat up the liver. The ſame thing happen'd a third time, and the ſerpents retired as before. The Aruſpices ſaid, that this prodigy threaten'd the pro-conſul, bid him beware of concealed traytors, and guard himſelf againſt their pernicious deſigns. But foreſight could not avert the fate of *Gracchus*.

There

There was an officer in *Lucania* named *Flavius*, who was at the head of the party that continued faithful to the *Romans*, and happen'd, that year, to be prætor. This traytor was desirous of having something to boast of, and of winning *Hannibal*'s favour by some signal piece of service: Thinking, therefore, that it was not enough for him to desert the *Romans*, and to draw the *Lucanians* after him, he sought to seal his treaty in the blood of *Gracchus* his general, who lodg'd in his house. With this view he goes to *Mago* in the country of the *Bruttians*, and has a private conference with him. *Mago* promises, if he would deliver the general up to him, that the *Lucanians* should become the friends and allies of *Hannibal*; that they should be free, and retain their laws and their privileges. *Flavius* leads him to a place he had pitched upon, where a great number of troops might be concealed. The day for the execution of their design being come, this traytor goes to the tent of *Gracchus*, and says; *I have laid the scheme of a very important enterprize, but cannot bring it to maturity without your assistance. I have prevail'd on the rebellious* Lucanians *to return to their duty, by telling them, that the* Romans *are recover'd from the fatal blow they receiv'd at the battle of* Cannæ, *and that the* Carthaginians, *on the contrary, dwindle away daily; that the senate is not inexorable; and that no nation, under heaven, is more prone and ready to pardon, as their forefathers often experienced in their rebellions against them. The* Lucanians *already brought over by these motives,*

want only to hear the ſame things from you. I have appointed a place at a little diſtance from your camp, to which they will certainly come; and if you'll take the trouble of conferring with them your ſelf, the affair may be concluded in a very few words.

Gracchus not ſuſpecting any treachery, goes out of his camp, with his lictors and a ſmall party of horſe; follows the traytor, and falls into the ambuſcade. The *Lucanians* ſtart up; and *Flavius* puting himſelf at the head of them, the pro-conſul is ſurrounded, and oppreſſed with their darts. He alights from his horſe, and exhorts his ſmall troop to ſell their lives dearly, and honour their death by their courage; commanding them, as a reward for his perfidy, to aim all their blows at *Flavius*; and telling them, that whoever ſent this victim to hell before him, would acquire immortal glory, and give him the only conſolation he could receive in death. Wrapping, at the ſame time, his military cloke about his left arm, for the *Romans* had not brought their ſhields, he plunges into the midſt of his enemies. The combat laſted longer, and was more obſtinate than could have been expected from ſo ſmall a number. The *Carthaginians* do all they can to take the pro-conſul alive, but finding by the prodigious efforts he made to reach *Flavius*, that they could not ſpare him without loſing a great number of men, pour ſhowers of darts upon him 'till he drops down dead on the ſpot. *Mago* cauſes his body to be taken up, and thrown with his bundles of rods before *Hannibal*'s tent. The *Carthaginian* ordering

dering a large funeral pile to be erected before the camp, the corps is placed on the top of it; and the *Spaniards* dancing according to the different cuſtoms of their country, and the whole army performing martial exerciſes round it, the funeral is celebrated with great magnificence, and high encomiums beſtow'd on the dead.

Hannibal afterwards approaches *Capua*, draws up his army, three days after, in order of battle, and attacks the *Romans*. During the engagement, the army of *Gracchus* arrives under the conduct of his quæſtor. Both parties imagining it came to aſſiſt their enemy, thought themſelves obliged to retire.

The conſuls, the next night, in order to draw *Hannibal* from *Capua*, pretended to raiſe the ſiege and march'd off; *Fulvius* towards the territories of *Cumæ*, and *Claudius* towards *Lucania*. *Hannibal* being informed in the morning of their departure, knows not at firſt, which to follow; but reſolves at laſt to purſue *Claudius*. The *Roman* having led him where-ever he thought proper, turns ſhort, gives him the ſlip, and taking another road, comes again before *Capua*. *Hannibal* makes himſelf amends for the trick which *Claudius* had play'd him, by improving a favourable opportunity which fortune threw in his way. There was an officer at *Rome*, named *Centenius Penula*, who was famous for his ſtrength and his courage, had ſerved out his legal time, and was captain of the firſt company of the *Triarii*. This man being introduced by *P. Cornelius*

nelius Sulla the prætor into the ſenate, told them; *That he was well acquainted with the ſituation of the country and the enemy; and that he would, if they would give him only* 5000 *men, promiſe, in a very little time, to do them ſome important ſervices; by making uſe of the ſame ſtratagems againſt* Hannibal, *which* Hannibal *had ſo ſucceſsfully made uſe of againſt them.* This promiſe was as fooliſhly credited, as made. For what preſumption was it in a meer captain to think himſelf capable of oppoſing *Hannibal*; as though the qualifications of a ſoldier and a general were the ſame? And what folly was it in the *Romans* to think, that there could be any doubt in a diſpute between *Hannibal* and this captain; between an army of veterans enured to war, and commanded by a general of his reputation, and forces raiſed in a hurry, and poorly armed? Inſtead of 5000 men, the ſenate gave *Centenius* 8000 *Romans* and allies; and he pick'd up as many voluntiers in his march. He ſoon arrived at the place to which *Hannibal* had purſued *Claudius*; and the two armies, as ſoon as they were in ſight of each other, drew up in order of battle. The combat laſted for above two hours; longer than could have been expected from ſo great an inequality. *Centenius* ſeeing his troops defeated, and being unwilling to forfeit his reputation, or to ſurvive a misfortune which he had brought on the *Romans* by his temerity, took the only reſolution worthy his courage, plunged into the midſt of the enemy, and was ſlain. Hardly 2000 of his whole army eſcaped, all the reſt being put to the ſword.

The

The conſuls, in the mean time, carry on the ſiege of *Capua* with the utmoſt vigour and diligence, and do all they can to inſure its ſucceſs. The troops under the command of *Cn. Fulvius* the prætor, having retaken ſome towns that had revolted from the *Romans*, were elated with their ſucceſs, loaded with booty, and lived very licentiouſly; obſerving no order nor diſcipline in their camp. *Hannibal* being informed of this, and ſeeing he had a fair opportunity of making his advantage of the incapacity of *Fulvius*, as he had already done of that of *Centenius*, march'd his army into *Apulia*. *Fulvius* was encamped near *Herdonia*. As ſoon as his troops heard that *Hannibal* was coming, they were ready to ſnatch up their ſtandards, and march againſt him, without waiting for the commands of the prætor, who had much ado to reſtrain and calm their impatience. The next night *Hannibal* had intelligence, that there were great tumults and commotions in the camp of the enemy, and that the ſoldiers urged *Fulvius* to come to an engagement. Upon this advice he conceals 3000 of his beſt ſoldiers in woods and thickets, orders them to riſe from their ambuſcade on the firſt ſignal he ſhould give them, ſends *Mago* with 2000 horſe to block up all the roads by which the enemy might take their flight, and draws up his army in order of battle at break of day. *Fulvius* does not refuſe the combat; but the ſame folly which lead him out of his intrenchments, appeared in the diſpoſition of his forces. He drew them up ſo very unſkilfully, that they were not able to ſuſtain the

firſt onſet of the *Carthaginians*. He exactly copied the folly, but not the courage of *Centenius*; for as ſoon as his troops began to give ground, he took horſe and fled, attended only with 200 cavalry. Hardly 2000 out of the 18 of which his army conſiſted, made their eſcape; all the reſt periſh'd by the ſword.

When theſe two great loſſes were known at *Rome*, the whole city was fill'd with mourning and fear; but as her courage was invincible, ſhe ſoon recover'd her ſelf, and diſpatch'd all neceſſary orders. The two conſuls who were before *Capua*, ſent for *Nero* from his camp at *Sueſſula*; ordering him to leave no more troops behind him than were ſufficient to maintain his poſt there. Thus there were now three armies before the town; who began to inveſt it with double lines, fortified with paliſſades and redoubts, at ſmall diſtances from one another. The beſieged made ſeveral ſallies to deſtroy the works; but not being able to effect it, were obliged to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of their city.

Hannibal not being able to find out any means of relieving *Capua*, departed from *Herdonia*, and went again to *Tarentum*, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the citadel either by fraud, or force; but not ſucceeding in his deſign, endeavoured to ſurprize *Bruduſium*. Whilſt he was loſing his time here, he received deputies from *Capua*, who told him the miſerable condition to which they were reduced, and urged him to ſend them immediate aſſiſtance. *Hannibal* replied, *That he had once already*

already raiſed the ſiege of Capua; *that he would now march againſt the conſuls again; and that they would not wait, a ſecond time, for his arrival.*

New conſuls were created at *Rome*; and *Fulvius* and *Claudius* continued in the command of the armies before *Capua*. The ſiege of this city went on very ſlowly, the *Capuans* being rather ſhut in, than ſtreighten'd by the beſiegers. *Hannibal* was greatly perplexed in his own mind, not knowing whether it was moſt adviſeable to continue the ſiege of the citadel of *Tarentum*, or march to the relief of *Capua*. He reſolved, at length, on the latter; for he ſaw that this city could not hold out long, and that the loſs of it would be follow'd by the revolt of all the others which had deſerted the *Romans*, and come over to him. He leaves therefore all his cumberſome baggage in the country of the *Bruttians*; and with his heavy-armed forces, the flower of his infantry and cavalry, and three and thirty elephants, goes into *Campania*, and encamps on mount *Tifata*, near *Capua*. The next day, he finds means of informing the beſieged of his arrival, and orders them on their part, when he ſhould attack the *Romans*, to ſally out of all their gates. This was executed accordingly, and a hot combat enſued, in which the pro-conſul *Claudius* was wounded. The *Spaniards* and *Numidians* enter the *Roman* camp with their elephants, which throw down the tents, and fill it with confuſion and fear. *Hannibal* improves this diſorder, and has recourſe to ſtratagem. As he had men in his army who ſpoke the *Latin* tongue very

very fluently, he ſent ſome of them amongſt the enemy with orders to cry out aloud, *That the conſuls ſeeing their camps loſt, commanded them to retire to the neighbouring mountains.* But this trick was immediately diſcover'd, and render'd abortive by the great ſlaughter which the *Romans* made of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* was repulſed, and the beſieged ſhut up again within the walls of the town. The *Carthaginians* loſt 8000 men and 15 enſigns, and the beſieged 18 enſigns and 3000 men.

Hannibal deſpairing to force the *Roman* camp, and fearing moreover leſt the new conſuls ſhould come and attack him behind, or at leaſt intercept his convoys, was greatly perplex'd, and knew not what courſe to take. If he retires, *Capua* is taken, and his allies deſert him; and if he ſtays, he runs the riſk of being hemm'd in, and beſieged himſelf by the armies of the *Romans*. In this extremity he reſolves, like a great captain, to march directly to *Rome*; hoping that he ſhould by this ſtep oblige the pro-conſuls either to raiſe the ſiege, and march to the relief of the capital of the empire, or to ſeparate from one another; and that this ſeparation, as it would weaken them both, would preſent him with a favourable opportunity of performing ſome notable action againſt the conſul who ſhould march to *Rome*, and put the Campanians in a condition of dealing with him who ſhould ſtay to carry on the ſiege. Ordering his troops, therefore, to take proviſions for ten days, he paſſes the *Vulturnus*; having firſt by the force of preſents prevail'd on one of his moſt reſo-

reſolute *Numidians*, to venture through the camp of the enemy, and to carry letters to the beſieged: In which he informed them; *That he would march to* Rome *in order to draw the pro-conſuls after him; that by keeping up their courage and holding out a few days longer, they would be ſure to obtain immortal glory, and procure themſelves perfect liberty.*

Fulvius the pro-conſul, being informed by a deſerter of *Hannibal*'s deſign, adviſes the ſenate of it; who aſſemble immediately upon receiving ſuch fearful news. *Cornelius Aſina* was for ſending the pro-conſuls word to raiſe the ſiege, and come to the defence of *Rome*; but *Fabius Maximus* was of another opinion. He thought it would be highly ſhameful for the *Romans* to raiſe the ſiege, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much alarm'd, as to regulate all their meaſures by the threats and motions of the enemy. *What*, ſays he, *will* Hannibal, *who after his victory at* Cannæ, *did not dare to turn his eyes towards* Rome, *have the confidence to approach it after his repulſe at* Capua? *He has no ſuch deſign. His only view is to deliver* Capua, *and not to beſiege* Rome. *Reſume your courage, therefore, and be aſſured that* Jupiter, *the avenger of violated treaties, will defend the* Romans *with the troops which remain in their city.* The advice of *Valerius Flaccus* was a mean betwixt theſe two extreams. *It's my opinion*, ſaid he, *that one of the pro-conſuls ſhould be call'd home, and the other left to carry on the ſiege.* This advice was follow'd. *Fulvius* who was appointed

pointed to march to *Rome*, becauſe his collegue was confined to the camp by his wound, having choſen out of the three armies 15000 foot and 1000 horſe, paſt the *Vulturnus*.

Hannibal being arrived at *Fragellæ* on the river *Liris*, finds that the inhabitants had broken down the bridge, in order to retard his march. *Fulvius* was alſo hinder'd in croſſing the *Vulturnus*, for *Hannibal* had burnt all the boats on the river; but having with great diligence made rafts of hurdles, he paſt it, and purſued his march.

The *Fragellanians* no ſooner ſaw *Hannibal*, but they diſpatch'd a courier to *Rome*; who having rode all day and night, arrived there, and proclaimed the dreadful tidings of *Hannibal*'s approach. The whole city is in the utmoſt conſternation, and every houſe rings with ſhrieks and lamentations. The ſtreets are thronged with women; who go in crouds to the temples, wipe the altars with the hair of their heads, and falling down on their knees, and lifting up their hands to heaven, beſeech the gods to ſave their city from ſo cruel an enemy, and to deliver them and their children from the dreadful evils that hang over their heads.

Advice was brought, at the ſame inſtant, of the arrival of *Fulvius* the pro-conſul, with an army from *Capua*; and as his power would ceaſe as ſoon as he enter'd *Rome* becauſe the conſuls were there, the ſenate order'd that his command ſhould be continued, and that he ſhould have the ſame power as the conſuls. *Fulvius* enters at the gate *Capena*,

paſſes through the city, and encamps between the gates *Eſquilina* and *Collina*.

Hannibal having laid the country waſte as he came along, encamps on the river *Anio*, three miles from *Rome*; and advancing at the head of 2000 horſe to the gate *Collina*, near the temple of *Hercules*, takes a view of the city. *Fulvius* thinking the *Carthaginian* ought not to be ſuffer'd to come ſo near the walls with ſo much boldneſs and ſecurity, diſpatches ſome cavalry againſt him, who, after a long combat, oblige him to retire.

The next morning *Hannibal* croſſes the *Anio* with his whole army, and offers the enemy battle. *Fulvius* and the conſuls accept the challenge. This day would have decided the fate of *Hannibal*, of *Rome* and its empire, had not a violent ſtorm of rain mix'd with hail and furious guſts of wind, interpoſed, as ſoon as the ſignal of battle was given, and drove the combatants back to their entrenchments. Both armies, the next day, draw up in battalia as before, another ſtorm as violent as the former intervening, parts them again; and they are no ſooner retired, but a wonderful calm ſucceeds the dreadful tempeſt. The ſuperſtitious *Carthaginians* look'd upon this accident as a ſign of the anger of the gods, and *Hannibal* ſaid; *After the battle of* Cannæ *my own imprudence hinder'd me from becoming maſter of* Rome, *and now the malice of fortune ſnatches it out of my hands.*

There were two other things which greatly damped his hopes, and ſunk his ſpirits. The one was,

that the *Romans*, even at the time of his beſieging *Rome*, ſent freſh ſupplies into *Spain*; and the other, that when he offer'd the bankers ſhops in the *Forum Romanum* to ſale, not a ſingle purchaſer appeared: Whereas the *Romans* had no ſooner put up by auction the lands which his troops poſſeſs'd, but ſuch crouds of buyers bid ſo faſt one upon another, that it was impoſſible to tell who was the purchaſer. What a people were the *Romans!* could the gods refuſe their aſſiſtance to men who had ſo much courage, and ſo great a confidence in their protection; to men who whilſt they were threaten'd with the loſs of *Italy*, carried on wars in *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Spain*; and even when they were beſieged in their capital and fighting before their walls, ſent recruits into *Spain*.

This magnanimity and conſtancy forcing *Hannibal* to give over his vain expectations of becoming maſter of *Rome*, he decamp'd, and march'd again into *Campania*; and *Fulvius*, at the ſame time, ſet out on his return to *Capua*.

As *Hannibal* made no more attempts to relieve the *Capuans*, they call'd their ſenate together to conſult about their affairs. We may judge of their deſpair by a propoſition made by *Vibius Virius*, one of their chief citizens, and principal author of their revolt. The majority being of opinion, as they had no farther hopes of relief, that they could do nothing in their preſent extremity, but ſend deputies to the *Roman* generals to agree on terms of capitulation; *Vibius* made a long ſpeech, and among other things ſaid;

ſaid; *Our attempts againſt* Rome *ſhould make us deſpair of being forgiven. The* Romans *are more irritated againſt* Capua, *than againſt* Carthage *it ſelf, and will inflict their crueleſt tortures upon us. But, as for me, I am reſolved not to undergo the ſhame of a triumph, and the ignominious pains that await us, but to elude their rage by a decent welcome death. Let all who have the ſame reſolution, go home along with me. I have order'd a feaſt to be prepared; and when we are regaled with food and wine, a cup of deliverance will be handed round, of which I my ſelf will firſt taſte, that will free us from the hard neceſſity of ſeeing, hearing and feeling the cruel tortures that are preparing for us. The enemy ſhall not become maſters even of our bodies: For I have order'd a pile of wood, the only ſolemnity of our funeral, to be erected before my door, on which we ſhall be thrown as ſoon as we are dead. This is our only honourable path to death. The* Romans *ſhall be compell'd to admire our courage, and* Hannibal *to bluſh at having abandon'd allies ſo faithful, and ſo worthy of aſſiſtance.* This ſpeech of *Vibius* was received with applauſe, but few had reſolution enough to come into his propoſal. Twenty ſeven ſenators only follow'd him home, ſat down with him at table, and drank the cup. After embracing and taking their laſt farewels, ſome remain'd in the banqueting hall, bewailing their own unhappy fate and that of their country, that they might be burnt together on the ſame funeral pile; and others went home to their own houſes. The food they had eaten weakening the force of the poiſon, they held out all

that night and part of the next day, but had all the good fortune to expire before the town was ſurrender'd.

The next day the beſieged open the gate of *Jupiter* to the *Romans*, and *C. Fulvius* enters with one legion and two troops of horſe. The chief promoters of the rebellion were puniſhed. The majority of the *Romans* were at firſt for levelling the city with the ground, but were at laſt ſatisfied with depriving the *Capuans* of their laws, privileges, and right of holding any public aſſemblies, and with ordering an annual magiſtrate to be ſent from *Rome*, to diſtribute juſtice in the name of the *Romans*.

This example terrified moſt of the other cities which had gone over to the *Carthaginians*; and *Hannibal* not being in a condition to ſpare garriſons to keep them in awe, pillaged and left them to return to the *Romans*.

The citadel of *Tarentum* was, in the mean time, ſorely oppreſt with famine; for it could receive no proviſions but from *Sicily*, and a fleet of four and twenty ſhips, commanded by *Democrates*, cruiſed on the ſeas between that and *Tarentum*, in order to intercept the convoys. *Quintius*, a man of an obſcure birth but famous for his exploits in war, having got together the ſame number of veſſels at *Rhegium*, undertook to convoy proviſions to the citadel. The two fleets meeting at ſea, a ſmart engagement enſued, and both parties immediately boarded one another. The moſt remarkable combat happen'd between the veſſel of *Quintius*, and that of *Nico*, who commanded

manded a ſhip of the *Tarentines*. The latter having run *Quintius* through with a lance, as he was fighting with great bravery on the prow, leaps on board him, and drives the *Romans* from thence. Thoſe in the ſtern continue to defend themſelves, and do all they can to beat him back; but another *Tarentine* veſſel coming up, that of the *Romans* being attack'd fore and aft, was taken: The reſt were put to flight, and the convoy diſperſed.

This loſs which the *Romans* ſuffer'd at ſea, was recompenſed by an advantage on ſhore. Four thouſand men, whom the city of *Tarentum* had ſent out to forage, having diſperſed themſelves up and down the country; *Livius* who commanded the citadel, order'd 2000 *Romans*, under the command of a brave officer named *Perſius*, to ſally out againſt them. Theſe troops beat the foragers, killed a great number of them, and obliged the reſt to leave their booty behind them and fly, for fear of being taken, in great diſorder to the city.

The conſul *Marcellus* having taken *Salapia*, by the treachery of *Blaſius* one of its principal inhabitants, went into the territories of the *Samnites*; where he took the cities of *Maronea* and *Meles* by force, with 3000 men which *Hannibal* had left as a garriſon, 240000 meaſures of wheat, and 110000 meaſures of barley.

The joy of this great ſucceſs was quickly daſh'd by a diſaſter which happen'd at *Herdonea*. The pro-conſul *Cn. Fulvius*, knowing that the inhabitants were grown very cool in their affections for

Hannibal, ſince his retirement into the country of the *Bruttians* and the loſs of *Salapia*, approached that city, in hopes of taking it in a very little time. This confidence prevented his beſieging it with vigor, though it was not ſtrong by ſituation, nor furniſhed with a good garriſon, and induced him to live with great negligence and little diſcipline.

Hannibal having intelligence of this by his ſpies, departs from the country of the *Bruttians*, makes long marches in order to out-run the news of his approach and ſurprize the pro-conſul, arrives at *Herdonea*, and offers him battle. *Fulvius*, as his courage was equal, though his conduct and forces were much inferior to *Hannibal*'s, draws up his troops in a hurry, and meets the enemy. *Hannibal* before the engagement, had order'd his cavalry, as ſoon as they ſaw the infantry thoroughly engaged, to march round the enemy; and that one party of them ſhould attack their camp, and another fall on their rear. This was accordingly executed. The *Romans* who had already loſt multitudes of men, no ſooner heard the ſhouts of thoſe who had enter'd their camp, and of thoſe who charged them behind, but they betook themſelves to flight. *Fulvius*, eleven tribunes, and 13000 of his beſt troops were ſlain, and his camp taken. *Marcellus*, who was in the country of the *Samnites*, received the remains of his army, ſent the ſenate an account of the great loſs they had ſuffer'd at *Herdonea*, and concluded his letter with theſe words: *I check'd the fury of* Hannibal *after the battle of* Cannæ, *I am now marching againſt*

againſt him, and will, in a few days, abate the exceſs of joy with which his preſent ſucceſs inſpires him.

Hannibal knowing that *Herdonea* had been on the point of ſurrendering to the *Romans*, and not doubting but that it would abandon him as ſoon as he retired, put the principal inhabitants, who had carried on a private correſpondence with *Fulvius*, to death, tranſported the reſt to *Thurii* and *Metapontum*, and reduced the city to aſhes.

Marcellus to acquit himſelf of the promiſe he had made the ſenate, goes into *Lucania*, encamps in ſight of *Hannibal* who was on the hills, near the city of *Numiſtro*, and to ſhow his confidence, draws up firſt in order of battle. *Hannibal* alſo puts his army in battle array, and a hot engagement enſues; which laſted, with equal advantage, from nine of the clock till night. The next morning *Marcellus* iſſues out of his entrenchments, draws up his army again amongſt heaps of the ſlain, waits there a good part of the day, and ſeeing *Hannibal* did not appear, ſtrips the dead bodies of the *Carthaginians*, and burns thoſe of the *Romans*.

Hannibal decamped the next night with great ſilence, and march'd towards *Apulia*. *Marcellus*, in the morning, as ſoon as the flight of the *Carthaginians* was diſcover'd, leaving thoſe who were wounded with a detachment at *Numiſtro*, follow'd and overtook him near *Venuſia*. Both armies encamped there for ſome days within ſight of each other, and ſeveral rencounters happen'd, which

were rather ſkirmiſhes than combats. They paſt afterwards into *Apulia* without any engagement worth relating. *Hannibal* conſtantly decamped in the night, in order to find out proper places for ambuſcades, but *Marcellus* ſhun'd all his ſnares: For he purſued him only by day, and march'd no where without having firſt examined the roads.

The *Romans*, in the mean time, ſend a great convoy of proviſions, and a reinforcement of 1000 men to the citadel of *Tarentum*.

Valerius Meſſala the admiral received orders, at the ſame time, to ſail to *Africa* with 50 ſhips, to ravage the country, and bring word what the *Carthaginians* were doing, and deſigned to do. *Meſſala* arrives at *Utica*, makes a deſcent, ravages all the neighbourhood, carries off a great number of *Carthaginians* and a large booty, and returns to *Lilybæum*, three days after his departure from thence. The *Romans* learnt from the captives, that *Maſſiniſſa* the ſon of *Gala*, a youth of great valour, had got together 5000 *Numidians*; that he was making new levies throughout all *Africa* to ſend to *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, in order to enable him, as victory depended on their union, to join *Hannibal* with a numerous army in *Italy*; and that a large fleet, which was ſoon to ſail for *Sicily*, was fitting up with all expedition.

This news greatly alarm'd the ſenate. For what would become of *Italy*, hardly able to reſiſt *Hannibal* alone, if *Aſdrubal* ſhould join him? Their fears redoubled their toils and their diligence. They named,

named, without waiting for the time of their elections, *Fabius Maximus* for the fifth, and *Qu. Fulvius Flaccus* for the fourth time, conſuls; and continued *Marcellus* in the command of his army. *Fabius* was order'd to beſiege *Tarentum*, and *Fulvius* to march into the country of the *Bruttians*. It was a cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* to lay up and reſerve for the laſt extremities a twentieth part of the money that was paid when a ſlave was made free. This money, which amounted to 4000 pound weight of gold, was taken from the temple of *Saturn*. Five hundred pound weight was given to the conſuls and the pro-conſuls, one hundred pound weight more to *Fabius* to be employ'd in defence of the citadel of *Tarentum*, and the reſt was laid out in cloathing the troops, which were carrying on the war with great ſucceſs in *Spain*.

The conſuls before they left *Rome*, took care to expiate the prodigies which had happen'd in different places. The ſtatue of *Jupiter* on mount *Alba*, and the tree near the temple, the lake at *Oſtia*, the walls of the city and the temple of Fortune at *Capua*, and the wall and gate of *Sinueſſa*, had been all blaſted with lightening. The lake of *Alba* had been turned into blood. A ſmall ſtatue on the crown of the goddeſs of Fortune, in the ſanctuary of her temple at *Rome*, had fallen down on her hands. An ox had ſpoken at *Privernum*; and a vulture had ſettled in a ſhop full of people, in the market place. It had rain'd milk; and a hermophradite, and a child with the head of an elephant, had been born at *Sinuſſa*.

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To expiate theſe prodigies, a day was ſet apart for public prayers in all the temples, the great victims were offer'd up, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo*.

When theſe ſolemnities were over, the conſuls departed. *Fulvius* ſet out firſt, and march'd to *Capua*. *Fabius* follow'd him in a few days, and having join'd him, ſaid; you muſt be ſure, *Fulvius*, for 'tis a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, to keep *Hannibal* employ'd whilſt I lay ſiege to *Tarentum*: If we can wreſt this city out of his hands, he'll have no ſafe retreat in *Italy*, but will be obliged to forſake it. He wrote the ſame things to *Marcellus*; who took the field early in the ſpring, and went to meet *Hannibal*, who lay before *Conuſium*, ſoliciting that city to revolt from the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* having intelligence of his coming, decamps, and retires into coverts; *Marcellus* follows him, encamps always in his ſight, and appears every morning in order of battle before him. *Hannibal* was ſatisfied with ſkirmiſhing, and avoided coming to a general battle; but was at laſt drawn into one, whether he would or not: For the *Romans* coming up with him in a great plain, fell upon the troops that were making their intrenchments. *Hannibal* order'd them to be ſuſtain'd, and the combat at length became general; but night coming on, both armies retired with equal advantage, and intrench'd themſelves in a hurry. The next morning *Marcellus* appear'd, by break of day, in order of battle. *Hannibal* is ſurprized and troubled, aſſembles his troops

troops and ſays; *The remembrance of the battles of* Thraſymenus *and* Cannæ, *ſhould be ſpurs to your courage, and induce you to make your utmoſt efforts, to ſcourge the pride of an enemy who does not ſuffer you to encamp, or march in quiet. The ſun every morning when he riſes, finds him armed, and views his daring. Shall we, after having won ſo many battles, find no repoſe, but be diſturbed, even in the boſom of victory? We muſt drive away this* Marcellus, *or never hope to ſee an end of our labours. Awake your courage then, and exert your utmoſt valour to day, that the fruits of all your other combats may be render'd ſecure by this.*

The *Carthaginians* enflamed by this exhortation, and aſhamed of being perpetually harraſs'd by the enemy, begin the charge. The battle is fought for two hours with great fury on both ſides; but at length the right wing and ſelect troops of the *Romans* being hardly preſs'd, give ground. *Marcellus* orders the eighteenth legion to advance from the rear to the firſt line, to ſuſtain it; but as the firſt line falls back in diſorder, and this legion advances ſlowly and with fear, *Hannibal* makes his advantage of their confuſion, redoubles his efforts, and ſpreads terror and flight amongſt the *Romans*. *Marcellus* loſt in this action 2700 citizens and allies, four centurions, two military tribunes and ſix enſigns.

Marcellus being return'd to his camp, ſeverely rebuked his troops, ſaying; *I ſee, indeed,* Roman *arms and bodies of men, but not a ſingle* Roman.

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This touch'd them to the quick, and vex'd them more than their defeat. They all ſhouted aloud, and beſeech'd him, with tears in their eyes, to pardon them, and try their courage again. *I will*, ſays he, *make another trial of it. I'll lead you forth to battle again to morrow, that you may owe your pardon to your victory.* He orders barley to be given to the cohorts who had forſook their enſigns; condemns the centurions who had left them, to ſtand all day with their ſwords in their hands without their belts; commands them to repair to their colours the next day, and diſmiſſes the aſſembly. They all own that his anger is juſt, and that their general is the only man in the *Roman* army.

Marcellus, the next day, finding all his troops in their proper poſts, commends their ardour, and tells them, that he would range thoſe who had fled, and the cohorts that had loſt their enſigns, in the firſt line; that they might waſh away their diſgrace in the blood of the enemy; adding, *That they muſt either conquer or die, and not hope for pardon unleſs the news of their victory reach'd* Rome *before that of their defeat.* He orders them to go and refreſh themſelves, that they might be able to endure the toils of a long combat, and then draws them up in order of battle. When *Hannibal* heard this he ſaid; *We have then to do with an enemy who can neither bear good, nor ill fortune. When he conquers, he eagerly purſues the vanquiſhed; and when he himſelf is defeated, returns to the combat, and diſputes the prize with the victors.* As ſoon as the *Carthagi-*

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nian had ſpoken theſe words, he iſſues out of his entrenchments, and orders the trumpets to ſound the charge. Both armies engage with more fury than the day before; the *Carthaginians* making their utmoſt efforts to keep the glory they had obtain'd, and the *Romans* to wipe off their diſgrace. The combat was a long time dubious. *Hannibal* ſeeing fortune waver, orders his elephants to advance to the firſt line, which immediately ſpread terror and diſorder amongſt the foremoſt ranks of the enemy. The rout would have been general, if one of the tribunes named *Decimus Flavius*, taking the enſign of one of the firſt companies and ordering it to follow him, had not flown to the place where the elephants cauſed the moſt confuſion, and plunged the haft of the enſign into the body of the foremoſt elephant. The ſoldiers dart their javelins into theſe animals, which being almoſt all wounded, for none of the javelins miſs'd them, ruſh back on their own troops, and throw whole ſquadrons into confuſion. The *Roman* infantry, at the ſame time, fiercely charge the bodies the elephants had diſorder'd, and put them to flight. *Marcellus* improving this opportunity, diſpatches his cavalry againſt them, compleats their defeat, purſues them to their camp, and makes a great ſlaughter of the enemy. *Hannibal* loſt five elephants and 8000 men, and *Marcellus* only 3000; but there was hardly a *Roman* returned unwounded from the combat. This gave *Hannibal* an opportunity of retreating in the night; for *Marcellus* not being in a condition to purſue him, on account of the great num-

number of his ſoldiers that were wounded, retired by eaſy marches, and went to ſpend the ſummer in the city of *Venuſia*, in order to recruit and cure his mangled troops.

Fabius, in the mean time, after having taken the city of *Manduria* by aſſault and 4000 priſoners, was encamp'd before *Tarentum*. This ſiege would have been tedious and difficult but for the intelligence he had with it, which render'd the taking of it eaſy, as has been obſerved in his life. The city was plunder'd, 13000 ſlaves taken, a vaſt quantity of ſilver coin'd or in bullion, 87000 pound weight of gold, and almoſt as many ſtatues and pictures as *Marcellus* took at *Syracuſe*. But *Fabius* acted more nobly with regard to the laſt part of his booty, than *Marcellus* had done; for the regiſter having ſent to aſk him what he would have done with the ſtatues of the gods, which were all very large, and in fighting attitudes, he replied; *Let us leave the* Tarentines *their angry gods*.

Hannibal march'd night and day to relieve the town, and when he was told that it was taken, ſaid; *Have the* Romans *then their* Hannibal *too?* But that he might not ſeem to fly, he encamp'd five miles from *Fabius*, and having ſtay'd there ſome days, retired to *Metapontus*; where, according to cuſtom, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He counterfeited letters from the chief men of the town, in which they aſſured *Fabius*, that the *Metapontans*, if he would approach their city, would ſurrender themſelves to him, and deliver up the *Carthaginian*

garriſon. *Fabius* deceived by theſe letters, appointed the day when he would be there. *Hannibal* overjoy'd that *Fabius* himſelf would fall into his ſnares, places ſome troops in ambuſh before *Metapontus*. But *Fabius* having conſulted the Auſpices before his departure, the flight of the birds proved unlucky twice together; and on the inſpection of the entrails of a victim he ſacrificed, the ſoothſayer adviſed him to take care of himſelf, and aſſured him that he was threaten'd with an ambuſcade. This made him delay; and *Hannibal* finding he did not arrive on the day appointed, ſent the ſame *Metapontans* to him again with other letters, preſſing him to make more haſte. Theſe meſſengers were immediately arreſted; and being threaten'd with the rack, diſcover'd the ambuſcade.

The next year, *Marcellus* was named conſul for the fifth time, and had *T. Quintius Criſpinus* for his collegue. The latter went into *Lucania*, to beſiege *Locri*; but raiſed the ſiege to join *Marcellus*, when he heard that *Hannibal* had drawn near to *Lacinium*. The two conſuls encamped ſeparately, betwixt *Venuſia* and *Bantia*, within three miles of one another. *Hannibal* finding himſelf not in a condition to riſk a battle againſt both the conſuls, was ſatisfied to be indebted to cunning, for what he deſpaired of obtaining by force. He therefore ſought for and quickly found an opportunity of laying an ambuſh. The conſuls thinking the reſt of the ſummer would be ſpent in ſkirmiſhes, reſolved to renew the ſiege of *Locri*, and ſent orders to *L. Cincius*, to ſail thi-

thither with his fleet from *Sicily*; and that the town might alſo be beſieged by land, order'd a detachment of the garriſon of *Tarentum*, to march thither and join him.

Hannibal having intelligence of theſe deſigns, conceal'd 3000 horſe and 2000 foot under the hill of *Petelia*, in the road from *Tarentum* to *Locri*. The detachment of the *Romans* from *Tarentum* fell into the ambuſcade. Two thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot, and 1200 taken priſoners. The reſt eſcaped through the woods, and returned to *Tarentum*. This ſo enraged *Marcellus*, and ſo much quicken'd his impatience for battle, that he marched with his whole forces, and drew near the enemy. The character of being *fruitful of wiles and ſtratagems*, which *Homer* aſcribes to *Ulyſſes*, in order to diſtinguiſh him from all his other generals, is the prevailing character of *Hannibal*. He has no ſooner laid one ambuſcade for his enemy, but he is preparing a another.

There was a riſing ground betwixt the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* armies, finely ſituated: Both ſides of it were full of pits and cavities, from whence flow'd multitudes of rivulets and fountains; but theſe cavities were concealed by the trees and the buſhes with which it was cover'd. As *Hannibal* arrived at this hill before the conſuls, the *Romans* wonder'd that he had not taken poſſeſſion of it himſelf, and that he had left it, as a prey, for his enemies. But if *Hannibal* thought this a proper place for a camp, he thought it a much properer for an ambuſ-

ambuſcade; and chuſing rather to make this uſe of it, left it as a bait for the enemy. He fill'd the woods and hollows, in the night, with *Numidians* arm'd with darts and javelins; not doubting but that the commodiouſneſs of the poſt would quickly draw the *Romans* thither.

He was not out in his gueſs. There was a general cry throughout all the *Roman* army, that poſſeſſion ought to be taken of the hill, or at leaſt a fort erected upon it; for fear *Hannibal* ſhould ſeize on it firſt, and their enemy be always over their heads. *Marcellus* moved with theſe ſpeeches, ſaid; *Why don't we go*, Criſpinus, *with ſome horſe, and take a view of this poſt? We ſhall ſee better on the ſpot what is proper to be done.* At the ſame time he order'd the Auruſpices to ſacrifice. In the firſt victim, the ſoothſayer ſhow'd *Marcellus* the liver without a head. A ſecond was offer'd up, in which the head of the liver appeared very large; and all the other parts being ſound and in good condition, the fears which aroſe from the firſt victim, were diſſipated and overcome by the great expectations occaſioned by the ſecond. But the Auruſpices thought otherwiſe, and affirmed that the latter did but alarm them the more; that favourable and happy omens immediately ſucceeding fatal and unlucky ones, were ſuſpicious, and ought to be look'd upon, as a mark of the anger of the gods: The event juſtified their fears.

Marcellus goes out of his camp, taking along with him his collegue *Criſpinus*, his ſons *Marcellus* and *Manlius* military tribunes, *L. Aurennius* and *M. Aulius* two generals of his allies, and 220 horſe; all *Tuſcans*, except forty *Fregellanians* who had ever been faithful and affectionate, and given him, on all occaſions, proofs of their courage.

All the ſpace betwixt the *Roman* entrenchments and the hill, was plain and bare. As ſoon as the conſuls were advanced, *Hannibal* order'd their return to be cut off; and the *Numidians* riſing from their ambuſh, according to the orders they had received, this ſmall troop was ſurrounded. The conſuls not being able to gain the hill poſſeſs'd by the enemy, expected ſafety only from their courage, and fought like men in deſpair. The *Tuſcans* flying immediately, the *Fregellanians* alone continued the fight with great bravery; but at length, ſeeing the conſul *Criſpinus* dangerouſly wounded, and the conſul *Marcellus*, who was run through with a lance, fall down dead at his horſe's feet, they caught up the young *Marcellus*, who was alſo very much wounded, and rode full ſpeed to their camp.

A like diſaſter never befel the *Romans*; for they never loſt, even in the greateſt battles, both their conſuls; yet here both of them periſh'd, not in battle but in a ſkirmiſh, like meer volunteers, leaving the republick an orphan. A memorable example to teach generals to be cautious of expoſing their own lives, and with them the ſafety of the people entruſted to their care.

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Hannibal hearing that *Marcellus* was ſlain, fled inſtantly to the field of battle; and ſtanding a long while by his dead body, beheld, with admiration, his noble mein, his ſhape and ſtrength; without letting fall one inſulting word, or ſhowing the leaſt emotions of joy, at ſeeing himſelf freed from ſo formidable an enemy: He only wonder'd at a death ſo ſtrange and ſo unworthy of ſuch a man as *Marcellus*; who was more than ſixty years old, and whoſe experience was fortified with ſo many great and glorious actions. He took off the ring with which he uſed to ſeal his letters; and wrapping up his body in rich cloths, cauſed it to be burnt; gather'd together the aſhes; enclos'd them in a ſilver urn, on which he placed a golden crown, and ſent them to his ſon, who interr'd them with great magnificence.

Criſpinus alarm'd by the death of his collegue, and weaken'd by his wounds, of which he died at the latter end of the year, took the opportunity of the night to retire to the neighbouring mountains, where he encamp'd in ſafety. The two generals bent all their application, one to find out new ſtratagems, and the other to avoid them. *Criſpinus* immediately adviſed all the neighbouring cities, that *Hannibal* was in poſſeſſion of the ſignet of *Marcellus*, and that they muſt not give any credit to letters written in his name. The couriers were but juſt arrived at *Salapia*, when the inhabitants received letters from *Hannibal* written in the name of *Marcellus*, in which he informed them, that he would come,

the next night, to their gates, and commanded them to be ready to obey his orders. The *Salapians* happily adviſed of the fraud, prepared to make their advantage of it. *Hannibal* arrives at the fourth watch of the night before the town. The *Roman* deſerters were in the van, who ſpeaking *Latin*, call to the guards, and tell them that the conſul is there, and that they muſt open the gates. The guards lift up the portcullis, and the deſerters croud into the town. As ſoon as about 600 of them were enter'd, the guards let the portcullis fall, and put them to the ſword. *Hannibal* being thus caught in his own ſnare, returns in confuſion, and marches to raiſe the ſiege of *Locri*. *Mago* who commanded in the town, did not doubt, when he heard of the death of *Marcellus*, but that he ſhould be able to defend it. At the approach of *Hannibal* he makes a furious ſally on the *Romans*, who ſuſtain'd the combat for a long time; but being alarm'd at the arrival of the *Numidians*, they fled to their ſhips for ſhelter.

The conſul *Criſpinus* being inform'd that *Hannibal* was marching towards the country of the *Bruttians*, order'd young *Marcellus* to lead the army which his father commanded to *Venuſia*; and hardly able, by reaſon of his wounds, to bear the motion of the litter, retired himſelf with his legions to *Capua*.

Valerius, the ſame ſummer, ſail'd from *Sicily* to *Africa* with a fleet of 200 ſhips, made a deſcent at *Clupea*, ravaged all that part of the country, and hearing that the *Carthaginians* were coming againſt him

him with a fleet of 83 ſhips, embarked again in a hurry, engaged and overcame them, took eighteen of their ſhips, ſcatter'd the reſt, and returned to *Lilybæum* with a great booty.

The two *Roman* armies remain'd, in the mean time, without a general, almoſt in the preſence of the enemy; and the *Romans* heard, that *Aſdrubal* was preparing to paſs the *Alps* with a great army, in order to join *Hannibal*. As he brought large ſums of money with him to hire troops, they did not doubt but that the *Gauls*, allured by this bait, would enliſt themſelves under his banners. They created therefore *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* a ſecond time, conſuls. *Claudius Nero* was order'd to march into *Lucania* and the country of the *Bruttians* againſt *Hannibal*, and *M. Livius* to go into *Gaul*, and oppoſe the paſſage of *Aſdrubal*.

The conſuls, before they left *Rome*, order'd ſacrifices to be offer'd up for the expiation of the prodigies that had happen'd. A ſhower of ſtones had fallen at *Veü*. The foreſt of *Marica* and the temple of *Jupiter* at *Minturnæ*, had been ſtricken with thunder, and a river of blood was ſeen near the gate of the city. The thunder had alſo fallen on the walls and gate of *Atella*. At *Capua* a wolf enter'd the city, and tore a ſoldier to pieces. But the moſt frightful prodigy was an infant born at *Fruſino*, which was, at the time of its birth, as large as a child of four years old; and what was ſtranger than his ſize, was of no ſex. The diviners being ſent for from *Tuſcany*, declared it to be a moſt fatal prodi-

gy, and that care ought to be taken, that it might not pollute the earth. It was therefore ſhut up in a box, and thrown into the ſea.

All theſe prodigies were expiated by ſacrifices for nine days together, and by a proceſſion of twenty ſeven young virgins, who went through the city dancing, and ſinging a hymn compoſed by *Livius Andronicus* the poet. Two white heifers went before, and after them were carried two ſtatues of *Juno* made of *Cypreſs* wood. Then follow'd the Decemviri crown'd with branches of laurel, and clad in their robes with purple borders. The proceſſion arriving in beautiful order at the temple of *Juno*, the heifers were ſacrificed by the Decemviri, and the ſtatues ſet up in the temple.

When all theſe ceremonies for appeaſing the gods, were ended, the conſuls applied themſelves to make new levies, without regarding any privileges, with greater diligence and vigor than had ever been uſed before. For they had received letters from the prætor *L. Porcius* which inform'd them, that *Aſdrubal* was paſſing the *Alps*, and that a body of 8000 *Ligurians* were up in arms, and ready to join him. This news obliged the conſuls to ſet out for their provinces, that they might ſtop their enemies there, and prevent their union. To this the opinion of *Hannibal* very much contributed: For he remembring all the toils he had underwent in paſſing the *Alps*, and the various battles he had been obliged to fight during his five months march, was perſuaded, that *Aſdrubal* would not arrive in *Italy* ſo ſoon as he

he did; and, for this reaſon, tarried in his winter quarters longer than uſual. But *Aſdrubal* found leſs difficulty than his brother imagin'd. For a way was not only open'd over theſe hills ſince *Hannibal*'s paſſing them, but the mountaineers alſo were grown more courteous and tractable during the 12 years which this war had laſted, and were no longer ſcared at the ſight of ſtrangers. The people of *Auvergne*, the *Gauls*, and the inhabitants of the *Alps*, received *Aſdrubal* with open arms, and ſwell'd the number of his troops. But the ſiege of *Placentia*, which he undertook imprudently and without ſucceſs, made him loſe all the fruits of his diligence.

Whilſt *Claudius Nero* makes haſty marches; *Hannibal* leading his army through the country of the *Salentines*, is attack'd by *Hoſtilius Tibulus*; who falling upon him with ſome light cohorts, kill'd 4000 of his men, and took 8 of his ſtandards. The *Carthaginian* retires in the night into the country of the *Bruttians*, and *Claudius* advances into that of the *Salentines*. *Hoſtilius* and *Nero* having join'd one another at *Venuſia*, the conſul chuſes 42000 foot and 500 horſe out of both their armies, and marches againſt *Hannibal*; and *Hoſtilius* leads the reſt of the troops to *Capua*.

Hannibal aſſembles all the forces he had in the country of the *Bruttians*, and draws near the city of *Grumentum* in *Lucania*. The conſul *Nero* arrives there almoſt at the ſame time from *Venuſia*, and encamps within half a mile of the enemy.

There were ſkirmiſhes, for ſeveral days together, in the plain which lay between the two armies, and at laſt a general engagement enſued; in which *Hannibal* was beaten, and loſt 9 enſigns, 6 elephants, and 8000 men; and *Nero* only 500. The *Carthaginian*, the next day, keeping himſelf ſhut up in his camp; the *Roman* gather'd together the ſpoils of the enemies he had ſlain, and cauſed his own dead to be burnt.

Hannibal, a few days after, order'd ſeveral Fires to be made in that part of his camp which look'd towards the *Romans*, and leaving ſome *Numidian* horſe at the gates and along the entrenchments, march'd, at the third watch of the night, towards *Apulia*, and was overtaken, at break of day, by his *Numidians*. *Nero*, the next day, was ſurprized at the ſilence which reign'd in the camp of the enemy, and not ſeeing the *Numidians* which were there in the morning, ſent two horſemen to take a view of it; and hearing that it was abandon'd, enter'd it, allow'd his ſoldiers time to plunder it, and ſounded a retreat before night. The next morning he purſued *Hannibal*; and, after ſome toilſome marches, overtaking and attacking him near *Venuſia*, kill'd 2000 of his men.

Hannibal march'd night and day along the mountains, that he might not be compell'd to fight, and arrived at *Metapontus*. From whence, as ſoon as he had recruited his army with the troops which *Mago* commanded, he returned the ſame way to *Venuſia*, and advanced, without halting, as far as *Canuſum*. *Aſdru-*

Aſdrubal, in the mean time, being obliged to give over the ſiege of *Placentia*, diſpatch'd four *Gallic* and two *Numidian* horſe with letters for *Hannibal*. Theſe meſſengers after having paſt through all *Italy* amidſt ſo many poſts of the enemy, fell, near *Tarentum*, into the hands of ſome *Roman* foragers, who carried them to *Q. Claudius* the governor of *Tarentum*. Here they were examined, and obliged, for fear of being tortured, to confeſs they were carrying letters from *Aſdrubal* to his brother *Hannibal*. They and their letters unopen'd, were committed to the care of *L. Verginius*, a military tribune, who conducted them to *Nero* the conſul.

Theſe letters being read, and the priſoners examined before him, he thought, that he might, in the preſent perilous times, diſpenſe with a rigid obſervation of his commiſſion; that he was not obliged to keep within the limits of his province, and make war only againſt the enemy aſſign'd him by the ſenate; that ſome extraordinary and unlook'd for action ſhould be attempted; which when undertaken, might cauſe as much terror amongſt the citizens of *Rome* as its enemies, but when happily executed, might change the fears of the *Romans* into joy. *Nero* therefore writes the ſenate word of the ſcheme he had laid, tells them what meaſures they were to take, and ſends orders to all the places through which his army was to march, to provide proviſions for him on the road, and horſes and carriages for the eaſe of thoſe who ſhould be weary. After theſe

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precautions, he picks out 6000 foot and 1000 horſe; and leaving his camp under the command of *Q. Catius* his lieutenant, ſets out without any noiſe as though he deſigned to march into *Lucania*, but turns ſuddenly to the right towards *Picenum*.

This news being carried to *Rome*, cauſed as much conſternation and fear amongſt the citizens, as *Hannibal*'s arrival at their gates two years before. They knew not whether they ought to praiſe or blame this ſtep of *Nero*; and, which is highly unjuſt, ſeem'd reſolved to judge of it by the ſucceſs. *The* Roman *camp then*, ſay they, *is left without a chief in the preſence of an enemy, of ſuch an enemy as* Hannibal, *and the flower and ſtrength of the army taken away. Its ſafety, therefore, depends entirely on the deception of* Hannibal, *who knows not that the conſul, with the beſt part of his troops, has left it. But what will the conſequence be, if he ſhould be undeceived, and either purſue* Nero, *who has only* 7000 *men, with his whole army, or attack his camp in his abſence?* Theſe reflections are accompanied with ſeveral others with which they are furniſhed by their fears.

When the conſul was far advanced on his journey, he thought he might ſafely diſcover his deſign to his ſoldiers. *No general*, ſays he, *ever formed a project bolder or raſher in appearance, yet ſafer in reality than mine. I am leading you to certain victory, for you are going to join an army ſtrong enough alone to reſiſt even* Hannibal. *Our aſſiſtance, how ſmall ſoever it be, will certainly make the ballance preponderate, and the news of the arrival of the other con-*

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ful will not leave the victory a moment dubious. Fame does every thing in war, and the ſmalleſt addition of ſtrength is enough to fill the mind with terror or confidence. You alone will have all the glory of this great exploit; for it is commonly the timely reinforcement which ſeems to do all, and to which the greateſt ſucceſſes are unanimouſly imputed. You your ſelves ſee with what throngs, admiration and favour your march is attended.

There was a vaſt concourſe of people on the road, who flock'd from all parts, and made the air ring with their benedictions, prayers and praiſes; calling the conſul and his army the ſupports of the commonwealth, and the ſaviours of *Rome* and its empire; and proclaiming, that all their lives and their liberties were in their hands, and that they had no hopes but in their courage. *May the gods*, ſay they, *proſper your march, that as we now attend you full of anxiety and fears, we may, in a few days, run with joy to meet and congratulate you on your victory.* Every one, at the ſame time, preſs'd the ſoldiers with great earneſtneſs to take freely from him, rather than from others, every thing that they wanted. This liberality or rather prodigality of the people, was not greater than the modeſty of the ſoldiers, who accepted only of ſuch things as they could not poſſibly do without. That they might make the more ſpeed, they eat as they march'd, and allow'd themſelves no more time for repoſe than the calls of nature abſolutely required.

Livius

Livius was encamped before the city of *Sena*, half a mile from *Aſdrubal*. *Nero* halted under ſome mountains, and ſent to adviſe him of his arrival, and to aſk whether he would have him enter his camp by day or by night. *Livius* thought the night the propereſt time; and that he might not be obliged to enlarge it, which would have diſcover'd the conſul's arrival, order'd every tribune to lodge a tribune, every centurion a centurion, every horſeman a horſeman, and every foot ſoldier a foot ſoldier. The troops enter'd in the night with great ſilence into the camp of *Livius*; and, the next day, a council of war was held, in which the majority were of opinion, that *Nero* ought to allow his weary troops time to refreſh themſelves, and to ſpend ſome days in viewing the enemy.

Nero oppoſed this advice with great ſtrength, and ſaid; *We ought not by delays to make a deſign miſcarry, which diligence has made ſecure. The army of* Aſdrubal *may be defeated, and we return to* Apulia, *before* Hannibal *knows any thing of the matter. We ought therefore to draw up immediately, give the ſign of battle, and make our advantage of the miſtakes of the two* Carthaginian *generals; in hindering one of them from perceiving that he has to do with fewer, and the other with more enemies, than he imagined.*

As ſoon as the council was broken up, the conſuls hang out the ſign of battle. *Aſdrubal* alſo draws up his troops before his entrenchments; but advancing with ſome horſe, before he ſounds the charge,

charge, to examine the poſture of the enemy, he obſerves old ſhields, which he had not ſeen before, and leaner horſes, and that the number of the *Romans* ſeem'd to be greatly increaſed. This making him ſuſpect the arrival of the other conſul, he ſounded a retreat, and diſpatches ſome cavalry to the river at which the *Romans* water'd their horſes, to endeavour to take a priſoner, or at leaſt to bring him word, whether they did not ſee men whoſe faces were more ſun-burnt than any they had beheld before, and who look'd as though they were juſt come off from a long march. He ſends others, at the ſame time, to make a tour round the camp of *Livius*, in order to obſerve if it was not enlarged, and if the ſignal was given twice, or once only.

The report of his ſcouts contributed very much to his deception; for they aſſured him that the camp was not larger than before. But on the other hand, his ſuſpicions were confirmed and encreaſed, by their telling him, that the ſignal was given only once in the camp of the prætor *Porcius*, and twice in that of *Livius*. From hence he concluded, that both the conſuls were in the laſt camp. Not being able therefore to conceive how this was poſſible, nor to clear up the various ſuggeſtions of his fears, he cauſed the fires in his camp to be extinguiſhed the next night, and order'd his troops to march in the firſt watch of it to the *Metaurus*, which he deſign'd to paſs. But he was, the next day, overtaken firſt by *Nero* with the cavalry, afterwards by *Porcius* with the light-armed forces, and laſt of all by

Livius

Livius at the head of the infantry all ready to engage.

The two armies being in ſight of each other, the *Romans* drew up firſt; *Nero* took the right wing, *Livius* the left, and *Porcius* the main body. *Aſdrubal* diſpoſed his troops in the following manner: He placed his elephants before his main body, gave the left wing which was ſhelter'd by a hill, to the *Gauls*, diſpoſed himſelf with his *Spaniards* in the right, and ranged his *Ligurians* in the main body behind his elephants.

The battle begun betwixt the left wing of the *Romans* commanded by *Livius*, and the right wing of the *Carthaginians* commanded by *Aſdrubal*, and was very bloody on both ſides; for both the main bodies were ſharers in it. *Nero*, who was in the right wing, having in vain attempted to climb over the hill which defended the left wing of the enemy, in order to fall from thence on the *Gauls* of which it was compoſed, took ſome cohorts, and marching round the main body, fell upon the right wing of the *Carthaginians*, where *Aſdrubal* commanded in perſon. This decided the victory, and a horrible butchery enſued. The *Carthaginians* being attacked in the front, rear and flank, were obliged to give way. *Aſdrubal* gave proofs of a heroic valour; ever expoſed to the greateſt dangers, he ſuſtains thoſe who continue the fight, raiſes the ſpirits of them who are weary or dejected, brings others, who had given ground, back to the charge, and every where renews the combat. But ſeeing fortune at

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length declare for the enemy, he diſdains to ſurvive ſo large an army that had follow'd his fame; and ſpurring his horſe into the midſt of a *Roman* cohort, dies, as it became the ſon of *Hamilcar* and the brother of *Hannibal*, fighting. The *Romans* never killed ſo many enemies in one engagement. Fifty ſix thouſand of *Aſdrubal*'s army were kill'd on the ſpot, 5400 taken priſoners, and 4000 *Romans* who had been taken by the *Carthaginians*, were ſet at liberty. This defeat of the *Carthaginians* at the battle of the *Metaurus*, is equal to that of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*. The victory however coſt the victors dear; for they loſt almoſt 8000 *Romans* and allies. *Polybius* however ſays, that *Aſdrubal* loſt only 10000 *Carthaginians* and *Gauls*, and the *Romans* only 2000. But that there is an error in the numbers in this paſſage of *Polybius*, is evident from the reply which *Livius* made the next day to ſome ſcouts who told him, that a body of *Ligurians* and *Gauls* who had eſcaped from the battle, were retiring without a chief, and that a ſingle troop of horſe would be ſufficient to defeat them: *Let us ſuffer*, ſaid *Livius*, *ſome couriers to live and carry the news of our victory*. This would have been a ridiculous anſwer, if the *Carthaginians* had loſt only 10000 men.

The next night *Nero* departed, and returned into *Apulia* with greater expedition than he came from it; for on the ſixth day he arrived at his camp. It is inconceivable by what means *Hannibal* could be ſo long ignorant of his abſence. His miſ-conduct

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on this occaſion ſeems yet greater than after the battle of *Cannæ*. For when all the ſtrength of *Nero*'s camp was drawn out of it, he might certainly have forced it, and then have purſued the conſul with his whole army; who with 7000 men would not have been able to have made a long reſiſtance: And after his union with *Aſdrubal*, it is manifeſt that both of them muſt have defeated *Livius* the other conſul, who would not have been able to have withſtood two armies, and two generals of their reputation. Thus *Italy* would have been ruin'd, and an end put to the war. But ſome deity propitious to the *Romans*, turn'd the thoughts of *Hannibal* from every thing that might have undeceived and ſhown him the true poſture of affairs.

The news of *Aſdrubal*'s defeat cauſed the more joy at *Rome*, becauſe the enterprize of *Nero* was look'd upon as very daring, and the event of it exceedingly dubious. Public thankſgivings were proclaimed for three days together; during which time all the temples were throng'd with men and women, returning thanks to the gods for their almighty protection, in preſerving them and their children from the cruel ſlavery with which they were threaten'd.

Nero upon his arrival at his camp, order'd *Aſdrubal*'s head which he had brought along with him, to be thrown into that of his brother *Hannibal*, cauſed ſeveral *Africans* loaded with fetters to appear before his entrenchments, and ſent two of them to inform him of all that had happen'd. *Hannibal* ſtruck with this private and public calamity, ſaid; *I perceive the*

wretched fate of Carthage. He decamp'd and retired to the country of the *Bruttians*, taking the *Metapontans* and all the *Lucanians* that were ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, along with him.

At the end of the ſummer, the ſenate order'd *Livius* the conſul to return to *Rome* with his army; and ſent orders, at the ſame time, to *Nero* the other conſul, to repair thither alſo, but to leave his legions to make head againſt *Hannibal*. The two conſuls arrived, on the ſame day, at *Præneste*; and from thence they came to *Rome*, amidſt a numberleſs croud which came out to meet them, and thronged to ſalute and touch the victorious hands which had ſaved the republic, and reſtored fair weather to *Italy*, by diſperſing the black clouds with which it was overcaſt.

They were introduced into the ſenate, who were aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*. After having given an account of all their tranſactions, they demanded that thanks might be returned to the gods in their names, and that a triumph might be decreed them; which was granted accordingly. The manner and order of the triumph was as follows. As this great action happen'd in the province of *Livius*, as he commanded on the day of battle, and as his troops were at *Rome*, it was decreed; that he ſhould triumph in a chariot drawn by four horſes and follow'd by his legions, and that his collegue *Nero* ſhould triumph only on horſeback, and without any troops. This difference was ſo far from obſcuring the glory of *Nero*, that it gave it a bright-

er luſtre. Every one was charm'd with ſeeing him that was ſuperior in merit, yield the greateſt honours to his collegue, and magnified his ſervices ſo much the more. *This is he*, it was univerſally ſaid, *that in ſix days rode the whole length of* Italy, *and defeated* Aſdrubal; *this is he that encounter'd, at the ſame time, both the generals of the enemy; one by the terror of his name in* Apulia, *and the other in perſon in* Gaul. *Though his collegue triumphs, as it ſeemeth good to the ſenate, in a chariot; yet the real triumpher is on horſeback: And though* Nero *ſhould even triumph on foot, he would ever be more famous than his collegue, both by the glory he has obtain'd by this great exploit, and by that which he merits by his modeſty.* It was a cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* to accompany thoſe who triumphed, with ſongs full of invectives and ſatyr; and it was obſerved, that *Nero* had many more of theſe teſtimonials of eſteem, than his collegue. I have left *Hannibal* for a moment, to relate a ſingular and memorable action; which ſhows that great men may ſafely truſt their glory with the people, who always make them an ample amends for what they loſe by the envy of their ſuperiors, or their own modeſty.

L. Verturius Philo and *C. Cæcilius Metellus* were elected conſuls for the enſuing year, and order'd to march into the country of the *Bruttians* to oppoſe *Hannibal*. But they undertook nothing againſt him during their whole year. *Hannibal* dejected with the blow he had received, avoided all kinds of action,

action, and the two conſuls did not think proper to diſturb his repoſe. This is a high encomium on the *Carthaginian*; for what muſt their opinion of him be, who dared not attack him, even when all his affairs were on the decline, and every thing frown'd upon him? It is indeed hard to ſay, whether *Hannibal* was not greater, and more to be admired in adverſity, than in proſperity. For conſidering that he carried on a war, at a great diſtance from home, and in the country of the enemy, with an army collected out of all nations, whoſe laws, cuſtoms, language, ſacrifices, and even gods, were different; his keeping them together for ſo many years in ſuch harmony and exact diſcipline, that no diſſentions ever happen'd amongſt themſelves, nor any the leaſt mutinies againſt their general, no not even when he was driven, after ſo many loſſes, out of all the reſt of *Italy* into the fartheſt corner of the country of the *Bruttians*, in abſolute want of proviſions and money to pay them; his being able, I ſay, in theſe circumſtances to maintain his authority and power, is a ſubject that claims the admiration of all mankind.

The *Romans*, whoſe ſpirits were not to be broken by loſſes and diſappointments, were fluſh'd by their late great ſucceſs, and took all the meaſures, that magnanimity and courage could ſuggeſt, to compleat *Hannibal*'s expulſion out of *Italy*.

When *Homer* deſcribes the defeat of the *Trojans* by *Achilles*, he makes uſe of this ſimile:

As the ſcorch'd locuſts from the fields retire,
While faſt behind them runs the blaze of fire;
Driv'n from the land before the ſmoaky cloud,
The cluſt'ring legions ruſh into the flood:
So plung'd in Xanthus *by* Achilles' *force,*
Roars the reſounding ſurge with men and horſe.

POPE's Iliad, Book XXI. Ver. 14.

This is a perfect and lively image of the flight of the *Carthaginians*; who preſs'd on all ſides by the *Roman* legions, retire to the extremity of *Italy*, in order to be ready to leap into their ſhips, and return to *Africa*.

Scipio, notwithſtanding his youth, being elected conſul, was order'd to go into *Sicily*; and *Licinius Craſſus* his collegue, was ſent into the country of the *Bruttians*. But a violent plague happening this ſummer in the camp both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and the latter being moreover ſorely oppreſs'd with famine as well as the plague; neither of them were in a capacity of undertaking any thing conſiderable. It was no longer a war, but incurſions made by parties diſpatch'd rather to plunder, than fight. The *Roman* garriſon at *Rhegium* took this opportunity of recovering the city of *Locri*, which had embraced the party of *Hannibal:* Having ſome intelligence with the town, they approach'd one of its two citadels in the night, ſcaled its walls, and after a great ſlaughter became maſters of it. The *Carthaginian* garriſon retired to the other citadel.

del. *Hannibal* being adviſed of this, and knowing of what importance the preſervation of *Locri* was to him, march'd to its aſſiſtance, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to retake the citadel he had loſt. This news being carried to *Scipio* in *Sicily*, he ſail'd immediately with a fleet, and enter'd the town before night. The *Romans* encourag'd by his arrival, make a furious ſally. *Hannibal* had already applied his ſcaling ladders, but finding that *Scipio* was preſent, ſounded a retreat; and the garriſon abandon'd the other citadel, and follow'd him. *Scipio* puniſhed the chief authors of the revolt, left *Pleminius* governor of the town, and returned to *Meſſina*.

During theſe tranſactions, the *Romans* being alarm'd with ſeveral ſhowers of ſtones that had fallen this year, conſulted the books of the *Sybils*, in which they found this prophecy: *That when a foreign enemy ſhould have brought war into* Italy, *the only way of conquering and driving him out of it, would be to ſend for the goddeſs call'd the* Idean *mother from* Peſſinus. The oracle of *Delphi* was conſulted; whoſe anſwer, agreeable to this prophecy, was; *That this goddeſs muſt be obtain'd by the means of king* Attalus; *and being conducted to* Rome, *muſt be received by the beſt man in all the city.* Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Pergamus* to king *Attalus*; who conducted them to *Peſſinus*, and cauſed a ſtone, which the *Phrygians* worſhipped as the mother of the gods, to be delivered to them. The ambaſſadors diſpatch'd *Valerius*

Falto to *Rome*, to inform the ſenate and people of the arrival of the goddeſs.

Cornelius Cethegus and *Sempronius Juditanus* are, in the mean time, elected conſuls at *Rome*. *Tuſcany* is allotted to *Cornelius*, and *Bruttium* to *Sempronius*. News being brought to *Rome*, that the goddeſs is already arrived at *Terracina*, the ſenate are greatly embarraſs'd: They are to determine who is the beſt man amongſt all the *Romans*, and to appoint him to receive her. All the principal perſons of the city are ambitious of this honour; preferring it to all the poſts and dignities which the ſenate and people had power to grant. The choice at length fell on *P. Scipio*, the ſon of *Cneus* who was kill'd in *Spain*, a youth who was not yet old enough to be quæſtor. What an honour for one of his age, to obtain this prize in a city full of perſons eminent for their virtue!

Scipio arriving at *Oſtia* with the principal ladies of the city, who were appointed to execute this honourable commiſſion, put off to ſea, receiv'd the goddeſs from the hands of the prieſts who brought her, and delivered her into thoſe of the ladies; who relieving one another, carried her to *Rome*, and placed her in the temple of victory. The whole city went out to meet the goddeſs. Cenſers were placed at every door in the ſtreets through which ſhe was to paſs, the air was perfum'd with the incenſe that was burnt, and rung with acclamations and prayers, beſeeching the goddeſs to come and dwell willingly in the city of

Rome,

Rome, and to be propitious to it. This proceſſion enter'd *Rome* on the 14th of *April*. The day was obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival, and the games called *Megalenſes*, celebrated.

The *Romans*, who had already recover'd *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Spain*, and driven *Hannibal* out of almoſt all the cities he poſſeſs'd in *Italy*, now execute their former ſcheme of ſending *Scipio* into *Africa*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Fabius Maximus*; who had done all he could to prevent it, declaring that it would be the certain ruin of *Italy*, and crying out in all the councils and aſſemblies of the people; *That* Scipio *could not be ſatisfied with flying from* Hannibal, *unleſs he took all the forces that were left in* Italy *along with him*; *that he fed the youth with vain hopes, in perſuading them to forſake their fathers, wives, children and city, at whoſe gates there was a powerful and hitherto invincible enemy.* Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, *Scipio* went to *Carthage*, and tranſported the war into the boſom of the city which had dared to carry it to the walls of *Rome*.

The conſul *Sempronius*, as he was marching towards the country of the *Bruttians*, had a rencounter with *Hannibal* in the territories of *Crotona*. In this battle, or rather tumultuous ſkirmiſhes betwixt ſeparate bodies of troops, the conſul was worſted, loſt 1200 men, and retired with precipitation to his camp, whither the enemy did not dare to purſue him.

The next night, *Sempronius* ſent orders to *Licinius*, who commanded a body of troops not far off, to bring his legions to him. When the two armies were join'd together, the conſul gave *Hannibal* battle. Before he began the charge, he addreſs'd his prayers to the goddeſs call'd *Fortuna Primigenia*; promiſing her a temple, if ſhe would grant him the victory. The goddeſs hearing his vows, he routed the *Carthaginians*, kill'd 4000 of them, and took 300 priſoners and eleven enſigns. *Hannibal*'s meaſures being quite broken by this diſaſter, he drew off his army, and march'd to *Crotona*. The conſul taking the opportunity of this retreat to attack the city of *Clampetia*, carried it by aſſault; and all the leſs conſiderable towns readily ſurrender'd.

The next year, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius* were conſuls. *Mago* the brother of *Hannibal*, having march'd into *Gaul* with ſome troops in order to join the *Carthaginians*, and cauſed almoſt all *Tuſcany* to riſe, was beaten, and wounded in a battle fought with *Quintilius Varrus* and *M. Cornelius* the pro-conſul.

Scipio was no ſooner in *Africa*, but *Rome* rung with the noiſe of his victories and glorious exploits. His ſucceſſes obliged the *Carthaginians* to ſend deputies to *Hannibal* and *Mago* with orders to quit *Italy*, and come to the relief of their country already reduced to extremity.

Hannibal had juſt been beaten by the conſul *C. Servilius*, when he received theſe orders. This battle has very unaccountably eſcaped the reſearches

of

of hiſtorians. *Valerius Antias*, the only author that mentions it, ſays the *Carthaginians* loſt 5000 men in this action. All theſe great loſſes had ſo little abated the courage of *Hannibal*, that he was exceedingly concerned, and even wept, when he heard the commands which the deputies brought him. *My countrymen*, ſays he, *have long recall'd me by the indirect methods of refuſing to ſend me recruits and money, but now they do it by formal orders.* Hannibal *is not conquer'd by the* Romans *whom he has ſo often beaten and put to flight, but by the envy and reſolute oppoſition of the ſenate of* Carthage. Scipio *will not be ſo glad and proud of the ſhameful return to which I'm compell'd, as* Hanno; *who not being able to deſtroy my family by other methods, has found out the means of cruſhing it under the ruins of* Carthage.

He did however, without the leaſt delay, embark with his army; but before he ſailed, put ſome troops of the country to the ſword for refuſing to follow him: They had fled for ſhelter to the temple of *Juno Lavinia*; but the ſacredneſs of the place did not protect them from his rage. To leave a laſting monument of his actions, he erected an altar in this temple, on which he cauſed an inſcription to be engraved in *Greek* and *Punic* characters, giving a full account of all his exploits.

Never did any man ſhow ſo much reluctance at leaving his country to go into baniſhment, as *Hannibal* did at his departure from *Italy*. And, which is more remarkable, the *Romans* were not more con-

concern'd at the arrival of the *Carthaginians* in *Italy*, than they were at their forſaking it. Being apprehenſive of the event of the war, now the whole weight of it was about to fall on one army and one general only, they complain'd of their conſuls for not detaining *Hannibal* according to the inſtructions they had received. *'Tis the ſcene and not the danger*, ſaid they, *that is changed.* The great *Fabius Maximus*, juſt before his death, a thouſand times foretold the ſtorm that was gathering. He uſed to ſay, and juſtly too, that *Hannibal* would be more formidable in his own country than at the gates of *Rome. It will not be a barbarous thoughtleſs* Syphax, *nor an* Aſdrubal *who underſtood nothing but retreating*; *nor an army levied in haſte, and compoſed of half-armed ruſticks, that* Scipio *will have to deal with. 'Tis* Hannibal *he muſt encounter*; Hannibal, *born almoſt in the camp of his father, famous for his valour, and train'd up to arms from his cradle*; *who was made a general before he arrived at manhood, has grown old in the boſom of victory, and fill'd* Spain, Gaul, *and all* Italy, *from the* Alps *to the ſea, with monuments of his great actions*; *who heads an army enured to undergo toils that ſeem'd before him above the ſtrength of mortals, an army loaded with ſpoils, and dy'd a hundred times in* Roman *blood.* Scipio *will find numberleſs chiefs riſe up in battle againſt him, who have ſlain our generals with their own hands, and over-run our fields and our cities. All our magiſtrates together have not ſo many rods carried before them, as* Hannibal *can or-*

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der to be carried before him, if he has preſerved all thoſe he has won by the ſlaughter of our captains. After theſe gloomy reflections, the fear of offending the gods by their ingratitude, induced them to order feſtivals and ſacrifices, to thank them for the recovery of *Italy* after ſo bloody a war for ſixteen years together.

Hannibal ſail'd with a fair wind; and coming on the coaſt of *Africa*, order'd a ſailor to go up to the top of the maſt, to take a view of the place where they were about to land. The ſailor went up, and told him; that the head of the veſſel pointed towards a place where there was a ruin'd ſepulchre. *Hannibal* deeming this an unlucky omen, ſail'd farther, and went on ſhore at *Leptis Minor*; from whence he lead his army to *Adrumetum*. Here he refreſh'd his troops for ſome days, and then march'd with great expedition to *Zama*, which is five days journey from *Carthage*. Being here informed of the great progreſs which the *Romans* had already made, and ſeeing no proſpect of retrieving affairs by arms, he ſent and deſired a conference of *Scipio*, who conſented to it. A place was pitch'd upon between the two camps; and both generals, with a ſelect troop which they left at an equal diſtance, advanced, follow'd by their interpreters.

Hannibal ſpoke firſt, and endeavour'd by a long ſpeech to incline *Scipio* to grant the *Carthaginians* peace. *Remember* Scipio, ſays he, *the inconſtancy of fortune; ſhe often throws down thoſe ſhe has raiſed the higheſt; has great influence over all human affairs,*

affairs, and diſplays it with the utmoſt caprice in thoſe of war. We need not go far, nor ranſack antient hiſtory for examples of her fickleneſs; you have a lively inſtance of it now before you. I am that Hannibal, *who, after the battle of* Cannæ *and the conqueſt of almoſt all* Italy, *carried my victorious arms to the very gates of* Rome, *and encamped within five miles of its walls. There I conſider'd with my ſelf, what I ſhould do with you and your country. And now you ſee this very ſame* African *reduced to the hard neceſſity of ſuing to a* Roman *for peace, of treating with you about his own ſafety, and that of* Carthage. *If you rightly weigh this great reverſe of fortune, you will not much rely on your preſent proſperity, but accept of my propoſals, and grant us peace; that you may not run the risk of loſing the fame you have won in the bloom of youth. All the iſlands betwixt* Sicily *and* Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, *and* Spain *ſhall be yours, without leaving us any pretence ever to recover them by arms. In making the* Carthaginians *ſafe by this treaty, you will ſecure your own glory, and that of the* Roman *name.*

Scipio made a long reply to *Hannibal*, which ended thus: *That it was not for the vanquiſhed to preſcribe terms to the victor; that the* Carthaginians *muſt ſubmit themſelves abſolutely to the pleaſure of the* Romans, *or the next day decide by arms, whether* Rome *or* Carthage *ſhould be miſtreſs of the world, and give law to all other nations.*

Afte

After this conference they both retired to their camps; and drew up their troops the next morning by break of day, with ſuch art and judgment, that had *Mars* and *Bellona*, as *Homer* ſays, paſs'd through the two armies, and viſited all their ranks, they would not have been able to have found the leaſt fault. *Scipio* himſelf ſpoke greatly in praiſe of the diſpoſition of *Hannibal*'s forces.

The combat laſted a long while, was very bloody, and diverſified with ſtrange and remarkable accidents; but victory at length declared for the *Romans*. Twenty thouſand *Carthaginians* were kill'd on the ſpot, and as many taken priſoners, with 133 enſigns, and 11 elephants. *Scipio* did not loſe above 1500 men. *Hannibal* having done every thing that could be expected from the greateſt captain, retired to *Adrumetum*, and from thence to *Carthage*, where he declared in a full aſſembly, that peace was their only remedy.

Several aſſemblies were held on this ſubject, and deputies ſent twice to *Scipio*, to ſoften and incline him to peace. The *Roman* told the meſſengers the terms he ſhould impoſe upon them, and order'd them to return and declare them at *Carthage*. When the conditions of peace were read, *Giſco*, who always was of the faction that oppoſed *Hannibal*, endeavour'd to hinder the people from accepting of them, and was favourably heard by the multitude. *Hannibal* provoked at this unſeaſonable oppoſition, which tended to compleat the ruin of the *Carthaginians*, went up to him, ſeized, and dragg'd

dragg'd him from the tribune of harangues by force. This violence in a free city ſeem'd very inſolent, and raiſed great murmurs in the aſſembly. *Hannibal* aſtoniſh'd at this liberty of the people, which war was not at all acquainted with, to calm their minds, ſaid; *I left* Carthage *at nine years old, and am now returned after an abſence of ſix and thirty years. I am pretty well acquainted with the art, laws and cuſtoms of war, which I have been learning from my infancy; but am a perfect ſtranger to the rules and methods of your aſſemblies in the city, and hope you'll be ſo good as to inſtruct me in them.* Having thus excuſed his imprudence, he made a long ſpeech to ſhow that the peace which was offer'd them, was not unreaſonable; that the conditions of it were eaſier than they could well have hoped for in their preſent circumſtances; and that it was neceſſary to accept of it.

The deputies which had been ſent to *Rome*, returned with the ratification of the treaty: And the means of raiſing the firſt payment of the tax of 200 talents, which the *Carthaginians* were to pay annually for 50 years together, being propoſed in the ſenate, the whole aſſembly wept, and made great lamentations. Upon this *Hannibal* burſt out a laughing; and *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *Hedus*, being provoked at him for it, ſaid; it is very ſurpriſing that any perſon ſhould laugh at a publick calamity, when every one elſe is diſſolved with grief; eſpecially you, who are the cauſe of all theſe tears. *Hannibal*'s anſwer to this rebuke is full of good ſenſe.

ſenſe. *The ſmiles*, ſays he, *for which you reprove me, are not ſo unſeaſonable as your impertinent wailings. You ſhould have ſhed your tears, when the* Romans *ſtript us of our arms, burnt our ſhips, and forbid us all foreign wars; for this was the mortal blow they gave us. But we are ſenſible only of that part of public evils which affects our private fortunes, and are griev'd at nothing but the parting with our money. When* Carthage *was left naked and unarmed amidſt the warlike nations of* Africa, *no one ſigh'd, or ſhed a ſingle tear; but now, becauſe every one muſt furniſh his part of the firſt payment of the tribute impoſed upon us, you all weep like mourners at a funeral. Alas! I fear you'll quickly find, that the evils you now weep for, are but light occaſions of ſorrow.*

Livy tells us there are authors who affirm, that *Hannibal* embarked immediately after the battle, in order to go to the court of *Antiochus*. The foundation of his miſtake was evidently this. When *Scipio* demanded that the *Carthaginians* ſhould deliver up *Hannibal* to him, they told him that he was not in *Africa*. But this was a lye; for *Hannibal* ſtay'd at *Carthage* till the conſulſhip of *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, ſix years after the ratification of the treaty of peace, and *Scipio*'s departure from thence. It was not till this year, that *Hannibal*, to get beyond the reach of the hatred of his fellow-citizens, whom he had offended by introducing ſome novelties amongſt them; but more to avoid being delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, who having

heard

heard that he had contracted a friendſhip with *Antiochus*, and enter'd into a league with him to make war upon them, had ſent ambaſſadors to *Carthage* to demand him; it was not, I ſay, till this year, that *Hannibal* came to a reſolution of flying from his country. As he was narrowly watch'd, he was very cautious and prudent; and to prevent any ſuſpicion of his deſign, appeared in public during the whole day which he had pitch'd upon for his flight. At the beginning of the night, he went out privately attended only by two domeſticks, and came to a place where he had order'd horſes to be ready for him. He mounted immediately, and rode with ſuch expedition, that he arrived the next morning at a tower which bears his name, ſituated on the ſea coaſt betwixt *Acholla* and *Thapſus*. Here he went on board a ſhip that was ready for him, and ſailed the ſame day to the iſland of *Cereina*; where he found ſeveral veſſels well freighted with goods. As ſoon as he went on ſhore, he, like another *Ulyſſes*, deceiv'd the merchants and captains who came in crouds to pay their complements to him, by telling them that *Carthage* had ſent him on an embaſſy to *Tyre*. But fearing leſt ſome of the veſſels ſhould ſail in the night, and report at *Thapſus* or *Acholla*, that they left him at *Cereina*, he order'd a ſacrifice and a grand entertainment to be prepared, and invited all the merchants and pilots to partake of it; and that they might ſup in the ſhade, for it was midſummer, erected a ſpacious tent with maſts and ſails on the ſhore. The feaſt was as elegant

and ſumptuous as the ſhortneſs of the time would admit of, and the gueſts ſat drinking till the night was far ſpent. *Hannibal* finding a convenient opportunity to ſteal away without being obſerved, ſet ſail, and arrived happily at *Tyre*; where he was received by the founders of *Carthage* as a native of their country. He ſtay'd here a few days, and then ſailed to *Antioch*. Hearing that the king was gone from thence, and that his ſon was celebrating ſome ſolemn games at *Daphne*, he went thither to him. The young prince received him with great politeneſs. *Hannibal* did not tarry here, but went to *Epheſus*, where he found *Antiochus*, as yet wavering and doubtful about the war againſt the *Romans*. The arrival of the *Carthaginian* determined him. During his ſtay at *Epheſus* there happen'd an adventure worth relating.

The *Epheſians* had a peripatetic philoſopher amongſt them named *Phormio*, for whom they had a very great eſteem. Thinking they could not entertain *Hannibal* better than by letting him hear their philoſopher, they propoſed going to his auditory, which *Hannibal* readily accepted of. They led him thither amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people, and *Phormio* diſcourſed for ſeveral hours together on the duty of the general of an army, and the art of war. The *Epheſians* charm'd with their philoſopher, aſk'd *Hannibal* what he thought of him. *Hannibal* with a frankneſs worthy of himſelf, tho' he ſpoke *Greek* but ill, replied; *That he had in his time ſeen many old dotards, but that he had never*

ſeen ſo abſolute an one, as their philoſopher. And indeed what arrogance, or rather what folly, and what an itch of haranguing was it in this *Greek*, who had never ſeen an enemy or a camp, or been in any publick office, in his whole life, to preſume to talk of the art of war before *Hannibal*, who had for ſo many years diſputed the empire of the world with the *Romans*, who were afterwards the victors of it?

Antiochus thinking *Hannibal* the moſt proper captain in the world, to procure him ſucceſs, in the war he thought of undertaking, entertain'd him with all poſſible marks of honour, and had frequent conferences with him. *Hannibal*, ever faithful to the hatred which he had ſworn againſt the *Romans*, urged him to carry the war into *Italy*, which would furniſh him with recruits, and with every thing that was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his troops; telling him, if he ſuffer'd the *Romans* to tranſport the war out of *Italy*, that no king, or nation whatever, would be able to reſiſt them. The *Carthaginian* demanded 100 ſhips, 10000 foot and 1000 horſe of *Antiochus*, and aſſured him, that with this fleet he would ſail to *Africa*, and prevail on the *Carthaginians* to revolt; or, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to liſten to him, would paſs into *Italy*, and ſtir up a war there againſt the *Romans*.

Antiochus admired his great views, and went heartily into them all. *Hannibal* thought it neceſſary before he enter'd upon this enterprize, to prepare the minds of the *Carthaginians* for it. For

this purpoſe he made uſe of a certain *Tyrian* named *Ariſto*, who was then at *Epheſus*, whoſe abilities and addreſs he had experienced in ſeveral affairs in which he had employ'd him. He takes this man aſide, acquaints him with his deſigns, and ſends him to *Carthage*. He did not venture to give him any letters, leſt they ſhould be intercepted, and diſcover his ſchemes. But he gave him verbal inſtructions, named the perſons to whom he was to apply, and entruſted him with ſeveral ſecrets which would ſerve, inſtead of credentials, to convince his friends that he really came from him.

Ariſto no ſooner arrived at *Carthage*, but the enemies of *Hannibal* ſuſpecting the commiſſion with which he was charged, made it the topic of all public and private converſations. The affair was at length laid before the ſenate, and *Ariſto* ſummon'd to appear before them. He at firſt made a good defence, inſiſting chiefly on his not having brought ſo much as a ſingle letter to any one of the *Carthaginians*; but was greatly embarraſs'd to anſwer the reproach alledged againſt him, of having converſed only with the friends of *Hannibal*. Upon this a warm debate aroſe amongſt the ſenators; ſome were for treating him as a ſpy, and ſending him to *Rome*; others ſaid, that treating a ſtranger in this manner without any proof againſt him, would be a precedent that might be attended with fatal conſequences, by inducing the *Tyrians* and other nations with whom the *Carthaginians* traded, to treat their ſubjects in the ſame manner. The affair was poſtpon'd

till the next day; but *Ariſto* apprehending the conſequences of it, embarked privately the ſame night, after having poſted up a written paper upon the tribunal, in which he declared, *That he had no inſtructions to treat with any private perſon, but that he was ſent to treat with the ſenate.* This malicious libel was ſtuck up with two views; one was to make the nobility ſuſpected by the ſenate, and the ſenate by the people, and the other to ſtir up the ſuſpicions and indignation of the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians.*

The next day, the magiſtrates call'd *Suffetes*, aſſembled, and found this libel; and as *Ariſto* confeſs'd his crime, thought proper to ſend ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to give an account of all that had happen'd. The ambaſſadors being admitted to an audience, the *Romans* were greatly alarm'd for fear of being immediately engaged in a war both with *Antiochus* and the *Carthaginians* alſo. What greatly encreaſed their ſuſpicions of the latter, was, that they had been ſo far from complying with the motion that was made for ſending *Ariſto* to *Rome*, that they had not ſo much as detain'd him, and prevented his eſcape.

The *Romans* ſent two ambaſſadors, *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius*, with ſecret inſtructions to *Epheſus*; ordering them to go firſt to *Pergamus* to the court of *Eumenes*, who only wanted an opportunity to declare war againſt *Antiochus*. *Sulpicius* being taken ill, ſtay'd at *Pergamus*, and *Villius* arrived at *Epheſus* at the time that *Antiochus* was engaged in the *Piſidian* war.

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The courtiers of this prince being jealous of *Hannibal*, and fearing leſt he ſhould riſe to their prejudice to the higheſt degree of authority and credit, had already made him ſuſpected. *Antiochus* made no farther uſe of him, nor invited him any longer to his councils. This coldneſs was greatly encreaſed by the arrival of *Villius*, who had frequent conferences with *Hannibal*; which greatly enflamed the king's ſuſpicions, and ſtrengthen'd the ill impreſſions his courtiers had already given him.

Claudius the hiſtorian, who tranſlated the *Greek* annals of *Acilius* into *Latin*, and copied after them, ſays; that whilſt *Antiochus* was in *Piſidia*, *Scipio Africanus* went to *Epheſus*, and had frequent interviews with *Hannibal*; that the converſation one day turning on generals, *Scipio* aſk'd him, *what captain he preferr'd to all others? Alexander*, replied Hannibal: *And who is the ſecond*, ſaid Scipio; *Pyrrhus without doubt*, anſwer'd Hannibal: *And the third*, added Scipio; *my ſelf*, replied Hannibal, without any heſitation; that hereupon Scipio ſmiled, and ſaid, *How would it have been, had you conquer'd me? Oh!* replied Hannibal, *if I had conquer'd you, I ſhould have placed my ſelf before Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all others.* *Scipio* was agreeably flatter'd with this ingenious anſwer, and unexpected politeneſs of the *Carthaginian*, who had not rank'd him amongſt the generals, as thinking him infinitely ſuperior to all others, and without compariſon.

Antiochus hearing of the arrival of the *Roman* ambaſſadors, left *Piſidia*, and came to *Apamea*. *Villius* ſet out from *Epheſus*, and went thither to him. Here they had ſeveral conferences together, which were interrupted by the death of *Antiochus* the king's eldeſt ſon, a young prince of great expectation, who had already given proofs that he would one day be a great, that is, a good king. All the court was overwhelm'd with grief; and *Antiochus* affected the greater outward ſhow of mourning, becauſe his ſorrows were not ſincere; for he was ſuſpected of having poiſon'd his ſon, in order to rid himſelf of an heir whoſe virtues were painful to him, and whom he falſely accuſed of waiting with too much impatience for the crown. The palace was ſhut up for ſeveral days; and *Villius* that he might not be troubleſome to the king, went to *Pergamus*, from whence he and *Sulpicius*, who was recover'd from his indiſpoſition, went ſoon after to *Epheſus*. The king arrived there a few days after the ambaſſadors, and had ſeveral conferences with them; which all coming to nothing, they were obliged to return to *Rome*, without having agreed upon any one thing they were inſtructed to treat about.

After their departure, *Antiochus* call'd a great council to conſult about the war againſt the *Romans*. Here every one to make his court to his prince, pretended to be highly incenſed againſt them. Some magnified the inſolence of the demands of this ambitious people, in pretending to preſcribe laws to *Antiochus*, to the greateſt monarch in all *Aſia*, in the

ſame

ſame manner as to *Nabis*, whom they had conquer'd. Others ſaid, that the two towns which the *Romans* required, were indeed of no great importance to ſo powerful a prince as *Antiochus*, but that this was only an eſſay; that it was always uſual to begin with trifles, in order to pave the way to greater and more unjuſt demands; and that the king would no ſooner have yielded up theſe places, but the *Romans* would demand others of greater conſequence. There was in this council one *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had been one of the principal favourites of *Philip*, but had forſook him to adhere to *Antiochus*, as a prince that was more powerful, and better able to reward his ſervices. He was in great credit with the king, who admitted him to his moſt private councils, as a man that was well acquainted with *Greece*, and had a perfect knowledge of the affairs of the *Romans*. When it came to his turn to ſpeak, he ſaid, *The queſtion to be conſider'd at preſent, is not whether we ſhall make war or not, but where and in what manner it muſt be made. I'll venture to inſure* Antiochus *the victory, if he'll go over into* Europe, *eſtabliſh himſelf in ſome corner of* Greece, *and make it the place of rendezvous and magazine of arms. He'll find the* Ætolians *already in motion*; Nabis *will ſoon prevail on all* Peloponneſus *to riſe, and* Philip *will fly inſtantly from the heart of* Macedonia. *I have often heard this prince deſire nothing more of the gods, than the aſſiſtance of* Antiochus. *As theſe Affairs don't admit of delays,* Hannibal *muſt*

be ſent forthwith into Africa *to employ the* Romans *there.*

Hannibal did not aſſiſt at theſe councils, becauſe he was ſuſpected by the prince, and in diſgrace at court. At firſt he bore this affront without complaining, but at length thought himſelf obliged to vindicate his own glory, and to demand of the king himſelf the cauſe of his change with reſpect to him. The preſent conjuncture ſeeming favourable for his purpoſe, he enters into the council chamber, and asks *Antiochus* the reaſon of his coldneſs; and having heard it from his own mouth, ſaid; *I was,* Antiochus, *but a child when my father* Hamilcar *led me to the altar on which he was ſacrificing, and forced me to take an inviolable oath to be always an enemy to the* Romans. *'Tis this oath, which has compell'd me to make war upon them for ſix and thirty years without any the leaſt reſpite; 'tis this oath, which has driven me out of my native country, and thrown me into your dominions; and 'tis this very oath, which, if you deceive my hopes and betray your own glory, will force me to wander where ever there are troops and arms, and to compaſs land and ſeas in queſt of the enemies of* Rome. *If therefore any of your courtiers deſire to riſe by aſperſing others as friends of the* Romans, *I would adviſe them to let* Hannibal *be the laſt perſon in the world that they build their fortunes upon. I hate the* Romans, *and am hated by them. My father* Hamilcar, *and all the gods are witneſſes of this truth. If therefore you think*

think in earneſt of making war upon the Romans, *againſt whom I have ſworn an implacable hatred, make uſe of me as the beſt and moſt faithful friend you can have; but if you make peace with them, I from this moment declare my ſelf your enemy, and will henceforth try every method of doing both you and them all poſſible miſchief.*

Theſe words, full of ſincerity and force, and ſpoken with great warmth, did not only affect the king, but diſſipated all his fears, and induced him to reſtore *Hannibal* all his confidence: So that he was now more than ever in his good graces, and the war was reſolv'd on.

Nothing was talk'd of at *Rome* but the menaces of *Antiochus*, againſt whom the *Romans* had no preparations but their courage. Having at length intelligence of his march, they levy new legions, aſſemble their auxiliary forces, and ſend troops to all thoſe poſts, which were moſt expoſed, to oppoſe the ſtorm that was about to burſt upon them. The new prodigies, of which they had accounts from all parts, greatly encreaſed their fears. In *Picenum* a goat had brought forth ſix kids at a litter: A child was born at *Aretium* with only one hand: At *Formia* the gates and walls of the city had been ſhatter'd with lightening: The *Tyber* had overflowed at *Rome*, and made great devaſtations: A great ſtone at the top of the capitol had looſen'd it ſelf, and falling down into the city, daſh'd ſeveral perſons to pieces; though no one perceived any ſigns of an earthquake, nor the leaſt wind. And what alarm'd them more than

every

every thing elſe, an ox on the eſtate of *Domitius* the conſul ſpoke theſe words: *Roma, cave tibi.* Rome, *take care of thy ſelf.* Public ſupplications were made to expiate theſe prodigies, and to appeaſe the wrath of heaven; and the Auruſpices order'd that the ox, which had ſpoken, ſhould be kept and bred up with great care.

The reconciliation betwixt *Hannibal* and *Antiochus* was ſo far from extinguiſhing the envy of the courtiers, that it only ſerv'd to enflame it the more: For envy always gathers ſtrength, in proportion to the incapacity it perceives in it ſelf of equalling thoſe who are the objects of it. When the affair of ſending *Hannibal* into *Africa* with the fleet which he had demanded, and the king had promiſed him, came to be debated in the council, warm diſputes aroſe about it. *Thoas*, one of the chief men of *Ætolia*, and one of the greateſt flatterers of the king, oppoſed and ſpoke againſt it with the greateſt eagerneſs and force. He ſaid; *That they ought not to make this detachment from the fleet; and though they ſhould, that* Hannibal *of all men in the world, was the moſt unfit to be truſted with the command of it; That he was an exile, and not only ſo but a* Carthaginian, *to whom the preſent poſture of affairs and his own levity, might ſuggeſt a thouſand different deſigns. If our armies under his conduct,* adds he, *ſhould have any ſucceſs, he alone will run away with all the glory of it, without leaving the leaſt part of it for* Antiochus; *and if the war ſhould end happily, what grounds have we to hope, that* Hannibal, *who could not*

not bring himſelf to obey the laws of his own country, will ever condeſcend to obey thoſe of a foreign prince? Will the man, whoſe hopes and ambition promiſed him univerſal empire in his youth, in old age endure a maſter with patience. In ſhort, Antiochus *has no need of* Hannibal *for a general. If he takes him along with him, and makes uſe of his counſels, he will reap all the advantages he can yield him, without running any risk; but if he be made a commander, nothing but misfortunes are to be expected either from his treachery, or his daring.*

Antiochus was prevail'd on by this ſpeech, to lay aſide the wiſe reſolution he had form'd of entruſting *Hannibal* with a fleet, and thought only of going forthwith into *Greece.* From this time *Hannibal* had no ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs; but a little while afterwards, the king having croſs'd over from *Chalcis* to *Demetrias*, to conſult what he ought to do to win over the *Theſſalians* to his intereſt, call'd him to the council. *Hannibal* with a great deal of good ſenſe, ſaid; *You need not be in ſo much pain about gaining the* Theſſalians, *who will always by their own weakneſs be induced to make their court to thoſe they ſee at their gates. To draw king* Philip *into our alliance, is of more importance, and requires greater diſpatch. By gaining him we ſhall gain the* Ætolians *and the* Athamanes. *But if he refuſes to hear our ambaſſadors, and to join himſelf to us, meaſures muſt be taken to prevent his joining himſelf to the enemy. Your ſon* Seleucus, *who is at* Lyſimachia, *muſt march his forces through* Thrace,

Thrace, *and ravage all the country bordering on* Macedonia. *This will render* Philip *incapable of aſſiſting the* Romans, *and force him to be upon his guard to preſerve his own dominions. Theſe are my ſentiments concerning* Philip: *And as for the conduct of the war in general, you know what I think already. Had my advice been follow'd, the news at preſent amongſt the* Romans *had been, not that you have taken* Chalcis, *and forced this bulwark of* Europe; *but that* Tuſcany, Liguria, *and* Ciſalpine Gaul *are all in flames; and, which would ſtrike them with greater terror, that* Hannibal *is in the heart of* Italy. *I am ſtill of opinion, that you ought to aſſemble all your land and ſea forces; that your fleet ſhould be attended with veſſels of burden, well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions and ammunition; that it ſhould be divided into two parts; that one ſhould lie at* Corcyra, *to ſhut the* Romans *in on this ſide, and the other be extended all along the coaſt of* Italy *which looks towards* Sardinia *and* Africa; *that you and your land army ſhould take up your quarters at* Byllis, *from whence you would command both* Greece *and* Italy, *be able on any favourable opportunity to paſs into either, and be a great check and reſtraint upon the* Romans. *This is my advice. If I do not deſerve to be regarded concerning wars with other nations, my diſaſters and ſucceſſes in* Italy *give at leaſt ſome ſanction to my opinion concerning a war with the* Romans. *If you purſue theſe meaſures, I will attend you with equal faithfulneſs and zeal. May the gods proſper the counſels which ſhall ſeem beſt to* Antiochus!

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This advice of *Hannibal* was more approved than followed. *Antiochus* complied with it in nothing but ſending *Polyxenidas* for his fleet and land forces from *Aſia*; but by every thing that happened ſoon after, he was compell'd to admire *Hannibal* not only as a man of great ſenſe, but as a prophet who had foreſeen and foretold all that came to paſs.

The war in *Greece* being finiſh'd by the victory which the *Romans* gained at *Thermopylæ*, and by the taking of *Heraclea*, and other towns which were poſſeſs'd by the *Ætolians*, *Antiochus* left *Europe*, and went to *Epheſus*, where he thought himſelf ſafe; being aſſured by his flatterers that the *Romans* would not come to look for him in *Aſia*. *Hannibal* was the only one who ventured to contradict this ſecurity of the king. *Antiochus*, ſaid he, *in a full council, I am ſo far from doubting of the* Romans *coming after you into* Aſia, *that I am ſure they will quickly be here, and am ſurprized that they are not already come. I know them well: They never allow any reſt or truce to the vanquiſhed, or the victors. The paſſage from* Greece *to* Aſia *is much ſhorter and eaſier than that from* Italy *to* Greece, *and* Antiochus *a more alluring object than the* Ætolians. *The* Romans *are not leſs powerful by ſea than by land. They have long ſince had a fleet at Cape* Malea, *and I hear that another will ſoon arrive with a new admiral. Ceaſe, therefore,* Antiochus, *to feed your ſelf with vain expectations, and to flatter your ſelf with hopes of peace: The* Romans *will ſoon compel you to diſpute for* Aſia *in* Aſia *it ſelf. There is no medium; you muſt*

muſt wreſt empire and the hopes of being maſters of the univerſe from them, or loſe your own kingdom.

The event ſoon confirm'd this prophecy, and heighten'd the admiration in which *Hannibal* was already held. *Antiochus* ſlighting the promiſes of his flatterers, ſent him into *Syria* for the ſhips that were at *Cilicia*, and order'd *Polyxenidas* to refit thoſe that had been ſhatter'd in the laſt engagement, and to build new ones.

There ſoon was a ſecond combat betwixt the king's fleet and that of the *Rhodians*, near the city of *Sida* on the coaſt of *Pamphylia*. *Eudamus* commanded the *Rhodian* fleet, which conſiſted of 32 quadriremes and 3 triremes, and ſtation'd himſelf in the right wing, in order to oppoſe *Hannibal*, who commanded the left wing of *Antiochus*'s fleet, conſiſting of 37 veſſels; four of which were hexeres, and three hepteres. *Hannibal*, by ſtanding off to ſea, had ſurrounded *Eudamus*, who had fallen upon him with ſeven large ſhips, and was about to board him, when the left wing of the *Rhodians*, having beaten the right wing of *Antiochus* commanded by *Apollonius*, one of his principal courtiers, came up, and ſnatch'd the victory out of his hands.

There was a third engagement the ſame year at *Myonneſa*, between the fleet of *Antiochus* under the command of *Polyxenidas*, and that of the *Romans* and *Rhodians*. It does not appear that *Hannibal* was preſent in this fight, which was more con-

conſiderable than the two former both by the number of veſſels that engaged, the different manner of the combat, and the loſs of *Antiochus*, whoſe whole fleet was either ſunk, or taken. *Antiochus* being driven off from the ſea, withdrew his garriſon from *Lyſimachia*, went to *Sardis*, and after having in vain made propoſitions of peace by *Heraclides* of *Byzantia*, retired to *Magneſia*, where he aſſembled all his forces, and entrenched himſelf.

The *Romans* commanded by *Scipio Aſiaticus*, whoſe lieutenant *Scipio Africanus* his brother choſe to be, follow'd him thither, and drew up in order of battle before him. *Antiochus* went out of his entrenchments, and riſk'd his all upon a ſingle battle. The combat laſted long, and was very bloody; but at laſt *Antiochus* fled, having loſt 50000 foot, 4000 horſe, a great number of priſoners, and 15 elephants. That *Hannibal* was in this engagement may be inferr'd from a paſſage in *Livy*.

Antiochus being overthrown, and having no aſylum but peace, ſent ambaſſadors to demand it; who obtaining an audience of the conſul, ſaid; *We have nothing*, Romans, *to ſay to you, but only to ask you your ſelves by what means we may expiate the fault of* Antiochus, *and obtain pardon and peace from our victors. You have hitherto, with a magnanimity worthy of* Rome, *pardon'd the people and kings you have conquer'd. There are ſtronger reaſons for the exerciſe of this magnanimity and clemency in a victory, which makes you maſters of the world: Having no more enemies to encounter, there is nothing*

thing farther left for you to do, but, like the gods, to ſpare and take care of mankind.

Scipio deſired his brother *Africanus* to give an anſwer to the ambaſſadors; who accordingly told them the terms on which they might obtain peace. One of the chief articles was, that *Antiochus*, as the *Romans* could never hope for a ſafe peace whereever *Hannibal* was, ſhould, in the firſt place, deliver up this enemy into their hands. *Hannibal* hearing of this demand, and knowing that *Antiochus* was not in a condition to refuſe the *Romans* any thing, ſtole away in the night. He wander'd up and down from one coaſt to another for a long time. Some authors ſay he retired firſt to *Crete* amongſt the *Gortynians*, and not knowing how to ſave his ſilver and gold, invented this ſtratagem, which looks indeed very much like a *Carthaginian* contrivance. He fill'd ſome earthern pots with pieces of gilt braſs, and depoſited them in the temple of *Diana*; putting his gold and ſilver in hollow braſs ſtatues, which he left careleſly in his court-yard, to deceive the *Gortynians* by this counterfeit negligence. But this ſtory ſeems very ſuſpicious, and ill-grounded. Other authors, with much more probability, ſay; That *Hannibal*, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, retired to *Artaxes* or *Artaxerxes* king of *Arminia*, lived at his court, and gave him ſeveral uſeful counſels and inſtructions. Amongſt other things they ſay, that the *Carthaginian* obſerving a happy ſituation in a fine fruitful country, which was neglected and made no uſe of, drew the plan of a city upon this

this ſpot; that taking *Artaxes* thither, he ſhow'd it him; that the king was highly pleaſed with it, and entreated him to undertake the management of the work, which he did accordingly, and in a very ſhort time built a large and a beautiful city, which was call'd *Artaxates* from the name of the king, and declared the capital of *Armenia*.

Hannibal fled from the camp of *Antiochus* in the year of *Rome* 563, and went to the court of *Pruſias* king of *Bythnia* in 570, ſeven years after. It is ſurprizing that the ſix laſt years of the life of ſo great a man, who had fill'd the earth with his fame, and had drawn the eyes of all mankind upon him, ſhould be ſo little known, that we ſhould have nothing certain about him. It is ſaid, that he was well received at the court of *Pruſias*, and that the king was ſo pleaſed with him that he made him general of his army. *Hannibal* ſerved him very ſucceſsfully in a war againſt *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, an ally of the *Romans*. There is an odd kind of a ſtratagem, which he is ſaid to have made uſe of in a ſea-engagement. Having cauſed ſeveral earthen pitchers to be fill'd with ſerpents, he threw them, during the combat, into the veſſels of the enemy; who not being able to defend themſelves at the ſame time againſt the ſerpents and their antagoniſts, were beaten, and put to flight.

All that we know with any certainty is, that *Hannibal* retreated to a great diſtance from the court, and lived, in a very retired manner, near the ſea ſhore. Here, as he did not doubt but that

the *Romans* would diſturb his repoſe and demand him of *Pruſias*, whoſe imbecility and timorouſneſs he well knew, he dug ſeven ſubterraneous paſſages; which all ending by imperceptible outlets in different parts, a good way from his houſe, might, in caſe of neceſſity, furniſh him with the means of making his eſcape. His fears were not ill grounded. For the *Romans* ſent *Flaminius* to the court of *Pruſias*, to negotiate an accommodation betwixt him and *Eumenes:* But it is ſuppoſed, that there was a ſecret article in his inſtructions, by which he was order'd to require the king to put *Hannibal* to death.

Pruſias did every thing in his power to mollify *Flaminius* and ſave his friend, his ſuppliant and gueſt; but *Flaminius* was inflexible, and *Pruſias* forced to obey. He ſent guards to ſurround *Hannibal*'s houſe, ſo that he could not come out without being taken. He endeavour'd to eſcape by the moſt private ſubterraneous paſſage, but finding the mouth of it guarded, fled to death as the ſafeſt and only inviolable aſylum: He took ſome poiſon, which he always carried about him to deliver him in the laſt neceſſity, and before he ſwallow'd it, ſaid; *I'll free the* Romans *from their inquietude and fear. They think it too long and too dangerous to wait for the natural death of an old man whom they hate.* Flaminius *will not gain much glory by overthrowing a betrayed and unarmed enemy; and this day will witneſs the great depravation in the morals of the* Romans. *They formerly adviſed* Pyrrhus, *their enemy,*

my, of the deſign that was formed of taking away his life by poiſon, though he was then in arms, and had a powerful army in Italy; *but they now ſend ambaſſadors to* Pruſias *to force him, by the blackeſt crime, to put to death his gueſt, unarm'd, and at his mercy.*

Thus died *Hannibal.* He always flatter'd himſelf with returning to *Carthage,* with ending his days there, and being buried in the boſom of his country. This ſeem'd to be promiſed him by an antient oracle, which ſaid; *The* Lybiſſian *land ſhall devour the body of* Hannibal. He did not doubt but that the oracle ſpoke of *Lybia,* and foretold that he ſhould be buried at *Carthage*; but oracles that appear too plain, are always to be ſuſpected. The ſenſe which appears ſo evident at firſt, is hardly ever the true ſenſe. Ambiguity is the ſoul of an oracle. *Hannibal* was buried in the corner of *Bythnia* which he had choſen for his retreat, where there was a ſmall village called *Lybiſſa.* Thus was the oracle cleared up, and accompliſhed.

The writers who endeavour to wipe off from the *Roman* name the odium and diſgrace of this mean perſecution, tell us; that the *Romans* were not ſtrangers to *Hannibal*'s retreat, but that they pretended to be ignorant of it, and deſpiſed him on account of his impotence and years; and that the ſenate, when the news of his death was carried to *Rome,* was very ſorry that *Flaminius,* of his own authority, and without any order from them, had,

through an inordinate thirſt of glory, been the occaſion of it, in order to have, in all future ages, the reputation of being the author of *Hannibal*'s death. But this is by no means probable on three accounts.

Firſt, Becauſe *Flaminius* was not the only ambaſſador. *Scipio Aſiaticus* and *Scipio Nauſica* were ſent along with him, and they would ſurely have oppoſed *Flaminius*, had he of his own accord undertaken an action ſo cruel, odious and ſhameful to *Rome*. They would on this occaſion have called to mind the magnanimity of *Scipio Africanus*, who, after having defeated this enemy, till then invincible and yet formidable, did not drive him out of his country, inſult his misfortunes, nor inſert any article in the treaty of peace, particularly againſt him.

Secondly, Had *Flaminius* acted without orders, the ſenate would not have failed to have puniſh'd him for faſtening on the *Roman* name a ſtain of ſo deep a die.

Thirdly, *Hannibal*'s age was no ſecurity to the *Romans*; for he was but ſixty four when he died, and muſt certainly be capable at thoſe years of being formidable, had he found any opportunity of exerting his hatred. And this action of *Flaminius* was not univerſally blamed; ſome praiſed it, and ſaid; *That* Hannibal, *whilſt he lived, was a ſecret flame, which only wanted ſome body to blow it up; that it was not the ſtrength and vigour of his body that was to be feared, but his great capa-*

city

city and experience, joined to his natural animoſity and inveterate hatred againſt the Romans, *which was not at all weaken'd by age: For the natural bent of the mind remains, and is always predominant in our manners; that fortune is not always the ſame, but changing continually, invites thoſe, who through malice have ever made war againſt us in their hearts, to form new hopes, and undertake new enterprizes.* How many examples does hiſtory furniſh us with of men that have been caſt down by fortune, who have afterwards riſen, and become formidable again to their enemies?

Beſides, it is not true that *Hannibal* was fallen ſo low, that nothing was to be apprehended from him. He had a powerful king for his friend, who allow'd him large penſions, and had great intereſt in the fleet and army of this prince.

It is therefore very probable, and ſeveral authors aver it, that *Flaminius* did not commit this action of his own authority, and that the *Romans* on this occaſion acted according to the rules of the moſt refined policy; which injoins us to leave as little as poſſible in the power of fortune, and to take all the precautions, which the moſt apprehenſive foreſight can ſuggeſt, for our own ſecurity.

But if the *Romans* ever could, or ever ought to have departed from this too rigid rule, this ſurely

was the time: All nations were in ſubjection to them. And could the victors of the world have any thing to apprehend from a ſingle man? Nay, though they had found more ſafety in his death, it is certain they would have acquired more glory in deſpiſing and ſuffering him to live.

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